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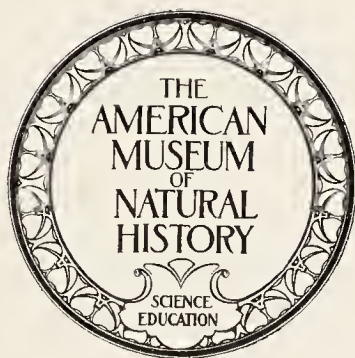
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NOTES ON HOPI CLANS

BY ROBERT H. LOWIE



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## INTRODUCTION

During the summer of 1915 I visited the First Mesa on the Hopi Reservation for the purpose of determining the kinship terminology and correlated clan phenomena. No attempt was made to study the Tewa. In 1916 these researches were extended to two villages of the Second Mesa, Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi, and some further information was obtained on the First. I hoped to continue along similar lines in the remaining Hopi villages and finally to prepare a general paper on the Hopi clan system. Since circumstances prevented the prosecution of my investigations and these are not likely to be resumed, the following data are presented as an unpretentious set of field-notes, with such interpretation as inevitably obtruded itself on the recorder. Doctor Elsie Clews Parsons was kind enough to read a typescript of this material years ago and to append valuable comments. If only a few of them—mostly corrections of manifest errors—are incorporated here, it is partly in order to preserve the character of the paper as essentially a set of independent field notes, partly because the wealth of additional information since accumulated by Doctor Parsons herself and other workers in the Southwest must inevitably render suggestions offered in 1921 somewhat superannuated.

Some disparity will be noted between the genealogies and the clan lists as regards the actual blood-relationship of members listed. The most usual reason for this lies in the classificatory sense attached to such words as "brother" or "son" by the informants who aided in the census. The genealogies are more accurate, since I plotted pedigrees on the basis of the census and then submitted them to informants for criticism.

## PHONETIC NOTE

While the transcription of native names and words generally follows accepted American usage, the attempt to standardize in accordance with present custom has not been consistently carried out and it is now impracticable to make requisite changes. Thus, *k* and *ky* both represent the palatalized *k*, *b* and *v* both represent bilabial *v*. The letter *q* is used to designate a *k* sound that seemed to me definitely further back than the stop usually so written, though I do not suppose it to correspond in position to the Eskimo *q*. Where *f* occurs, I think it is bilabial.



## THE CLAN SYSTEM

In each of the four villages studied I instituted a clan census for the purpose of determining the numerical size of clans, the relationship of clan members, and the clan intermarriages that had occurred. For the latter purpose I invariably asked for the clan of a given adult Hopi's spouse, whether still married or divorced, living or dead. In this way data were obtained as to intermarrying clans. I premise these censuses, merging those for Walpi and Sichumovi, which could not profitably be kept separate on account of the close relations between the residents of these neighboring First Mesa villages.

In designating a single member of the clan the Hopi suffix the term *wüñwa* to the stem for the clan name, which suffix is changed to *nyamö*, or *ñyamö* (presumably equivalent to Shoshoni *nömö*, people) when the whole membership of the clan is to be designated. Thus, Lewis spoke of his father as an *āsawüñwa*, but of the *āsnyamö* collectively. This explains the dual nomenclature that has puzzled Professor Kroeber.<sup>1</sup>

### HOPÍ CLANS OF FIRST MESA

The Cloud-Corn people do not represent two originally distinct clans that have become joined, but *one* clan with two names; the same applies to the Charcoal-Coyote people.<sup>2</sup> In other instances there has been a union of two or more clans, either because of the paucity of their numbers or for ceremonial purposes. This has apparently led, however, to a complete merging of the identity of the clans *at the present time*. The following list applies only to Sichumovi and Walpi, but includes clans that have recently become extinct.

1. Snake clan, *tcö'ĩnyamö'*
2. Sand-Lizard clan, *töwáñyamö*, *qö'qötsĩnyamö*
3. Cloud-Corn clan, *pátqiñyamö*, *qaö'nyamö*
4. Horn-Flute clan, *áliñyamö*, *líñyamö*
5. Charcoal-Coyote clan, *qóqupnyamö*, *ísnyamö*
6. Rabbit clan, *tápnymö*
7. Tobacco clan, *pípiñyamö*
8. Butterfly clan,<sup>3</sup> *pulĩnyamö*
9. Badger clan, *hunániñyamö*
10. Bear clan,<sup>4</sup> *húniñyamö'*
11. Sun clan, *táwañyamö'*
12. Reed clan, *páqapnömö*

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<sup>1</sup>*This series*, vol. 18, 147, footnote.

<sup>2</sup>This is the native conception of the matter as repeatedly impressed on me *on the First Mesa*. At Mishongnovi, however, Cloud and Corn clan were considered distinct.

<sup>3</sup>Butterfly and Badger people seem to have merged into one clan.

<sup>4</sup>Qútqa, the only survivor, joined the Bear clan of Tewa.

13. Eagle clan, qwañnyamö
14. ———bush clan, tēpnāmö
15. Katcina clan, qatcīnyamö
16. Grass clan, āsnyamö
17. Squash (Pumpkin) clan, pātañyamö

## CENSUS OF WALPI AND SICHUMOVI

*Snake Clan*

1. Hūni, own son of Cālakhū; wife, Cottonwood (=qatcīna) clan of Tewa
2. Harry Qoyáwaiima, own son of Calakhū; wife, Nákvik'i, Rabbit
3. Lomávoiya, younger brother of 1 and 2; wife, Nō'wa, āsnömö
4. Elmo, Puvúnuhoi.u, younger brother of 3; wife, a Pima woman
5. Hónau, "son" of Cālakhū; wife, Tövéwaiici, Coyote; first wife, Tewa of qatcīna clan
6. Sánna, brother of 5; wife, Yúña, Cloud-Corn
7. Múmi; wife, Ū'ma'ō' āsnömö (divorced)
8. Tom, son of Hāaco; wife, dead, of Pōwuli's clan (āsnömö)
9. Stephen = Yé'i, own brother of 8; single
10. Pahóna, own brother of 8 and 9; single
11. Pō'ōma (Clyde), Hāaco's sister's son; single
12. Ā'locakà, Nōvá'oi's younger brother; wife, dead, Charcoal-Coyote
13. Qa'woja, Hāaco's sister; husband, Tō''ōtci, Rabbit
14. Cōwimönö'ma, 13's own daughter; single
15. Pála, brother of 14, own son of 13; single
16. Cúnowaimàna, own daughter of 13; single
17. Nas'wisnō'ma, own sister of 16; single
18. Nōwàwana, own younger brother of 17; single
19. Hāaco, own daughter of Cālakhū; husband, Grover Ū'va, Cloud Clan of Tewa
20. Nōwáwisnō'ma, own daughter of 19; single
21. Cālakhū, oldest woman of clan, said to belong really to Lizard clan; husband, Cúpela (dead in 1916)—Cloud-Corn
22. Nánite, own younger brother of 8 and 9; single
23. Hōmí tiwa, own younger brother of 22; single
24. Harold Yú'to, brother of 19; wife, Frances Nōwáhūñunömà, āsnömö
25. Qōmai icwa Mack, brother of 24; wife, Freda, Oraibi Katcina clan
26. Nōvá'oi, uncle of 24 and 25; wife, dead, Cloud-Corn

The Lizard clan joined the Snake clan for ceremonial purposes. Cālakhū knows of no Snake-Lizard marriage. Lizard people call Cālakhū "mother."

*Sand-Lizard Clan*

1. Skyáhonaù.u; wife, divorced, Pōwulí, āsnömö
2. Qāqāqti, nephew of 1; wife, dead, Horn
3. Māmō'i, nephew of 1; wife, first, Horn, dead; second, Maggie, Cloud
4. Taqála, nephew of 1; wife, first, dead; second, Ruth, āsnömö
5. Sámmiya, nephew of 1; wife, Tawákwàvi; Horn



6. Põ''öya, nephew of 1; wife, dead, Coyote
7. Douglas, nephew of 1; wife, Cloud clan of Tewa
8. Jackson, nephew of 1; single
9. Teávi, nephew of 1; wife, Susie, Weasel
10. Teá'ak, nephew of 1; wife, Hömfci; Horn
11. Ná'pi, mother of 3; husband, dead, ásnömö
12. Qoyávi, husband, Tá'i, Bluebird and Bear of Tewa.
13. Talácqwavi, daughter of 12; husband, first, Rabbit of Tewa; second, Silas, Qateina, divorced; third, Charlie, Rabbit
14. Rose, sister of 13
15. Emma, sister of 14; husband, Rio Grande Indian
16. Naqwámō'ci, sister of 7; husband, Cyrus, Horn-Flute
17. Pol'ásnömə Ná'pi's grandson
18. Lóla, daughter of 12

### *Cloud-Corn Clan*

1. Nacíñainō'ma, oldest woman; husband, dead, Talóhōya, ásnömö
2. Náññainō'ma, sister of 1; husband, dead, Cōhōma, Flute
3. Sikyámicí, sister of 1; husband, Náhaás, dead; present husband, Teála; Flute
4. Ven(i)ci, sister of 1; husband, dead, Önwúci; ásnömö
5. Lənamàna, daughter of 4; husband, ñámuqi, Rabbit
6. Yúña, "daughter" of 4, i.e., of 4's dead sister; husband, Sáña, Snake
7. Nömá'pi, daughter of 6; husband, Talásyamtiwa, Coyote
8. Qō'ya, daughter of 4; husband, divorced, Qùtqa, Bear; second, Máhu, Coyote
9. Nacímicí, younger sister of 1; husband, dead, Cíñō, ásnömö
10. Quyúña, younger sister of 9; husband, Tóqya, ásnömö
11. Lóse, sister of Lewis, daughter of 4; husband, L'ēlo; Tewa Cottonwood, now Bear
12. Puñ'ai'amqa, sister of Lewis; husband, Pútea, páqapn'ömö
13. Qō'tshainema, sister of Lewis; husband, Nát'o, Bear of Tewa
14. Tef'i, mother of Lewis; husband, Tíñavi, Rabbit
15. Maggie Nápuwa, daughter of 14; husband, Mómō'yi, Lizard
16. Táli, a Tewa woman; husband, Pùnicōyo, dead, Cloud of Tewa
17. Mahōwō'te, daughter of 16; husband, Wō'nō'te, páqapuömö
18. Sq'ai'yomqa, daughter of 16; husband, Tawaíyoama, Cottonwood-Bear of Tewa
19. Ethel Sáya, daughter of 16; husband, Wilfred Tiwáñaiqiwa, Butterfly
20. Cúpela, oldest man, uncle of 1; wife, Cálak'u, Snake
21. Sáqwistíwa, nephew of 20; wife, Cíwi'ñyá, dead, Flute
22. Máqiwa, nephew of 20; wife, Puti'icí, ásnömö, divorced
23. Teü''uwe, nephew of 20, eldest brother of Lewis; wife, dead, Bear of Tewa
24. Cítai'imà, brother of 23; wife, Pullíveñqa, qálō clan of Second Mesa, own sister of Pentima's mother
25. Áña, brother of 24; wife, Talávenci, Lizard of Tewa
26. Máwa, brother of 25; wife, Á'nō, Coyote

27. Nash = Nácánohoya, son of 4<sup>1</sup>; wife, Paláawatia, ásnömö
28. Cíyu, nephew of 27, son of 6; single
29. Na''qala, brother of 28, son of 10; wife Tāyo, Flute
30. Earl Mōmjō wa, son of 10, new name = Qōtcwoya; single
31. Joe Qwâjō', son of Nōmqā, deceased, brother of 30; wife, Qōyánainō'ma, Rabbit
32. Jessc = Pála, brother of 31; wife, Tōvāinì, Flute
33. Lewis Lēhuñwa, son of 4; wife, Jettie, Qatcína
34. Qáwutc, brother of 33, son of Táli; wife, first, dead, ásnömö; second, Tcawé, Tewa qatcina
35. Pōlilanōmà, son of Tali; wife, dead, Húspumàna; Qatcína
36. Pústa, brother of 4; wife, Hahaf'i, Coyote

### *Horn-Flute Clan*

1. Talápije, oldest man
2. Tō'nua, nephew of 1; wife, Qōtcámona, Coyote clan of Oraibi
3. Nō'ña, younger brother of 2; wife, Nōqwáññònōma, Coyote-Charcoal
4. Páqavi, nephew of 3; wife, Pumpkin of Mishongnovi
5. Púñqtima, nephew of 3; wife, dead, Cloud-Corn
6. Sámmi, younger brother of 4; wife, divorced, Tōlō, Bear clan of Tewa
7. Máqto, uncle of 6, nephew of 1; wife, Zuñi, Qatcína
8. Tcá'la, brother of Máqto; wife, Sikyaáamici, Cloud-Corn
9. Ní'tiùma, nephew of Máqto; wife, Second Mesa, ?
10. Tá'tei, nephew of 9; wife, Talí, Bear clan of Tewa
11. Sishuyà, younger brother of 10, single
12. Tcū'uña, uncle of Máqto; wife, dead, Cloud-Corn
13. Herbert Cō'añqaiya, nephew of Máqto; wife, Edna, qatcina
14. Taláctima, son of 'wísti, nephew of Máqto; wife, Tō'be, Rabbit
15. Roscoe, brother of 14, (Nawáci); wife, Pulí'ini, Cloud-Corn
16. Lomáventiva, elder brother of Sámmi; wife, Bear, used to be Sun clan, is Tali's mother
17. Hēta, nephew of Máqto; single
18. Nōwáqək, nephew of Máqto; single
19. Alfred, Lōllō, nephew of Máqto; single
20. Joseph Pō'eqàñe, brother of 19; single
21. Qōllō, brother of 19; single
22. Wō'pa, uncle of Máqto; wife, from Shipaulovi, ?clan
23. Ned, nephew of Máqto; single
24. Richard Jíina, brother of 23; single
25. Qáca, nephew of Máqto; single
26. Címauitàwa, brother of 25 and 14; wife, dead, from Tewa
27. Punúteqa, brother of 10; single
28. Ōmfau'má, nephew of Máqto; single
29. Edgar, uncle of 28; single
30. Tō'qwi, younger brother of Máqto; lives with Zuñi Indians
31. Yáma, nephew of 30; lives with Pueblo Indians (i.e., Rio Grande)

<sup>1</sup>Nash (27), Lewis (33), Lénamàna (5) are Vénici's (4) own children.

32. Wáu+una, nephew of Máqto, brother of 8, own son of 7
33. Sák'vènci, sister of 8; husband, Sikyáhunàa'ö', Lizard
34. Maeánöppqa, sister of 33; husband, dead, Navajo
35. Sqáya.uci, daughter of 34; husband, Tövénana, Lizard, dead; second, Bear of Tewa
36. Hö'wímanas, sister of Töqwi, own daughter of Macánöppqa; husband, Mishongnovi, ?; formerly: Oraibi Rabbit
37. Sikyaletei, own daughter of 35; first husband, Tewa; second, Silas Tiláwana, Qateína
38. Qáhaya, elder sister of 35?; husband, Létayo, Rabbit
39. Qöyáletsnöme, own daughter of 38; husband, Qéhi; Cloud-Corn
40. Newáyaunö'me, daughter of 39; single
41. Cünüwai'ó, younger sister of 39; husband, Töqpö, Cloud-Corn
42. Lucile, own daughter of 41, Lucile = Nowáqwavi; single
43. Hünqá, sister of 41; husband, 'wisti, Rabbit
44. Lily Tawáqwawi, daughter of 41; husband, Cámmi.íə, Lizard
45. Talaúwön'qa, younger sister of 41; husband, Lumanañqwisa; ásnömö
46. Taláyaunöma, daughter of 45; single
47. Jennie Qwámö, sister of 46; single
48. Hömfeí, daughter of 41; husband, Teá'qa, Lizard
49. Hömíta, sister of 48; first husband, Rabbit; now, Ámmi, Weasel
50. Barbara, Qoya'hunö'ma, own daughter of 49; husband, Clyde, Rabbit
51. Rita Qáwi, sister of 50; husband, Leslie Agáyo, Cloud elan of Tewa
52. Váina Táho, sister of 51; husband, Qomáletsiwa, Cloud elan of Tewa
53. Tö'öwe, daughter of Qáqapti and sister of Barbara; husband, Ö'ye, Rabbit
54. Marietta Sawí letsnöma, daughter of 53; single
55. Qá'le, sister of 53; husband, Maípi, now Bear elan of Tewa

Snake, Flute, and Horn clan came from different places, but at the same time, so they join together for ceremonies.

#### *Charcoal-Coyote Clan*

1. Leñaiei, own daughter of 2; husband, Wáji, ásnömö
2. Tawáveniei, mother of 1; husband, dead, Nöwáwunö
3. Teöömöna, own sister of 1; husband, divorced, Charlie, Rabbit; present, Tāei, Qateína
4. Tövíwaiei, own sister of 3; husband, Hónau'ö', Snake
5. Haí'i, own sister of 4; husband, Pústa Hunuwístiwa, Cloud
6. Anna, own daughter of 4; husband, Máwa, Cloud
7. Nöqwañanönöma, sister of 6; husband, Nöña; ásnömö
8. Jane, own daughter of 4; husband, Clyde = Pūhuma, Rabbit
9. Hea, own brother of 5; wife, dead, Flute; present, Qetnówá, Oraibi, Rabbit
10. Máho, own brother of 9; wife, Qö'ya, Cloud
11. Sámmi, nephew of 9 and 10, own son of 5; wife, divorced, páqapnömö; present, Ivàsikāei, Rabbit
12. Lá'aei, nephew of 9 and 10, son of 2, brother of 11; wife, dead, Qöteowāici, Corn-Cloud

13. Story, Qö'tc'uñva, own son of 1; single
14. Qö'tc'uwuna, son of 2; single, died since summer of 1915

### *Rabbit Clan*

1. Háni, oldest man, really of Tobacco clan, but only surviving member, hence reckoned Rabbit; wife, first, Qác'o, Cloud; second, ásnömö; third, Snake
2. Tcáiná, nephew of 1; wife, second, Qomáletci, qatcina clan; first, Cactus, Snake
3. Létayo, brother of 2; wife, Qáhaya, Horn
4. 'wisti, nephew of 2 and 3; wife, Huñqa, Horn
5. Perry, nephew of 4; wife, dead, Cloud
6. Willie, nephew of 4; wife, Qwe'tcáwe, Cloud of Tewa
7. Charlie, nephew of 2; first, divorced, Tcö''ömana, Coyote; second, Talásq-wavi, Lizard
8. Tíñavi, nephew of 7; wife, first, Hömfita, Horn; second, Cloud
9. Taláci, brother of 8; wife, Lenohö; originally Pumpkin, páqap nömö
10. Námuqi, brother of 7; wife, Cě'namàna; Cloud
11. Lápö, uncle of 7; wife, Qö'tsowa.ici, Bear of Tewa
12. Cúme, brother of 11; wife, Tö'öwa, Flute
13. Dave Tcäöhoyà, brother of, 12; single
14. Andrew Cfítcùme, brother of 13; single
15. Claude Cikyàwiciùma, brother of 12; wife, Jane Mfata, Coyote
16. Samuel, brother of 15; single
17. Cikya'waiima, brother of 15; wife, Emma, Talámönöma, ásnömö
18. Masáhuiniva, brother of 2; wife, Ciwí qwavi, Butterfly
19. Tcö'uwö'te, oldest woman; husband, first, Pawi'qu, ásnömö; second, Háhawi, Flute
20. Uqáñ, younger sister of 19; wife, first, Poláqa, Cloud of Tewa; second, Tcö'öwe, Cloud
21. Háuwila, son of 20
22. Nelson, brother of 21
23. Stáli, brother of 22; wife, Elsie, ásnömö
24. Clyde, brother of 23; wife, Qöyáhuñunö'ma, Flute
25. Calvary, nephew of 21-24
26. Puñyáwənqá, daughter of 19; husband Toqwí'naño, ás (brother of Holla)
27. Qöyáñainömà, eldest daughter of 19, sister of 8; husband, Qwáco, Corn-Cloud
28. Töotyam'ya, sister of 27
29. Qwāñ, Tom's wife, sister of 28; husband, Tom Pavátya, Lizard
30. Náqviki, Harry's wife, younger sister of 29; husband, Harry Cupela, Snake
31. Cíyamqa, sister of 28; wife, Mö'ná, ás
32. Īvaskàtci, daughter of 31; husband, first, Zuñi; second, Sámmi, Coyote
33. Tö've, sister of 32; husband, Talástima, Flute
34. Cíhāpnöma, sister of 33; husband, Jack Talafamtiwa, Lizard of Tewa
35. Wáqole, sister of 15; husband, Hicks Tcf'ite, Cloud-Corn of Tewa
36. Mary Qótcuwa, sister of 35; single



37. A sister of 36
38. Paláqa'ö, daughter of 20; husband, Taylor, Butterfly

### *Butterfly Clan*<sup>1</sup>

1. Söwíqwavi, oldest woman; husband, Macáhuiníva, Rabbit
2. Qö'te'uñicí, daughter of 1; husband, Lomafamtíva, qatefna
3. Qotcámane, daughter of 2; husband, Hale = Cúñqi = Taqápökya, ásnömö
4. Qö'yaqa'amö, sister of 3; husband, dead, Qáte, Coyote
5. Susie Siwíhuñanömö, sister of 3; husband, Teáwi, Lizard
6. Teótqi, uncle of 1;<sup>2</sup> wife, dead, Sikyámöci, páqapnömö
7. Cíaqalé, brother of 1, uncle of 2 and 3; wife, Towámöci, ásnömö
8. Ámmi, brother of 3's mother; wife, first, ásnömö; second, Hömita, Horn
9. Máutiwa, younger brother of 8; wife, páqapnömö clan
10. Taylor Dábo, younger brother of 9; wife, Paláqa'i, Rabbit
11. Yáqwa, uncle of 1; wife, Teójo, páqapnömö

Yáqwa and his relatives were originally Badger, but his family died, so he joined the Butterfly clan.

Compare with Badger clan list.

### *Badger Clan*

1. Yóyowaiya, oldest man; wife, dead, Bear clan of Tewa
2. Cíaqalé, nephew of 1; see Butterfly list
3. Teótqi, nephew of 1 and 2; see Butterfly list
4. Ámmi, nephew of 3; see Butterfly list
5. Máutiwa, brother of 4; see Butterfly list
6. Taylor, brother of 4 and 5; see Butterfly list
7. Willie Awátchoya, nephew of 6; wife, Teafiwa, Corn-Cloud clan
8. Múñwi, brother of 3; wife, Teöhúñunàma, Rabbit clan of Oraibi, now divorced
9. Yáqwa, brother of 8; see Butterfly list
10. Súsieta, brother of 9; single
11. Ciwíqwavi, own mother of Ámmi; see Butterfly list
12. Qö'te'uñuci, daughter of 11; see Butterfly list
13. Qö'tcámana, daughter of 12; see Butterfly list
14. Qöyö'qa'amä', daughter of 12, sister of 13; see Butterfly list
15. Susie Cowí'uñuñoma, daughter of 12; see Butterfly list

### *Reed Clan*

1. Wönötö, oldest man; wife, Mahöwö'ti, Cloud-Corn clan of Tewa
2. Ná'i, nephew of 1; wife, Töwéya'qa Rabbit
3. Pútsa, nephew of 1; wife, Puñyáyamqa, Cloud-Corn
4. Táluwí'pi, nephew of 1; wife, Qatefnamàna, Bear of Tewa
5. Qöyáqwapiwa, nephew of 1, (Ray); wife, Bear clan of Tewa

<sup>1</sup>On the First Mesa this clan is restricted to Sichumovi.

<sup>2</sup>Died in the winter of 1915-1916.

6. Lumáwisi, brother of 5; wife, divorced, Lena Tcájo, qatcina of Tewa
7. Walter Lumátcíwo'kya, brother of 6; single
8. Stuart Tōvéñioitiwā, brother of 7; single
9. Ole Áñwō, nephew of 5; single
10. Ole Patáñahaùto, nephew of 5; single
11. Milton Tō'wa, brother of 10; single
12. Qáñya, sister of Ray's mother; husband, P'éema, dead, Horn
13. Tcōjo, Ray's mother; husband, Yáqwa, Badger
14. Sikyámōci, sister of 13; divorced, died a few days ago (Aug. 28, 1916)
15. Lenchó, daughter of 13; husband, Taláci, Rabbit
16. Qōtcqwavi, sister of 15; husband, first, Sámmi, Coyote; second, Conner Qáinele, Lizard of Tewa
17. Rose Qōyámō, daughter of 12; husband, Polála (Kyájo), Badger
18. Quqúma, sister of 17; husband, Mau'tiwa, Butterfly
19. Smilie Tō'gma, son of 12; single
20. Walter Qā'topti, son of 18; single
21. Dean Tō'wéya.omo, brother of 20; single
22. Dewey Aláqwaptiwa, son of 23; single
23. Qōmáyonici, mother of 22, sister of 12; husband, divorced, Edjá, Badger (a Zuñi man)
24. Teresa Páyamqa, daughter of 16; single
25. Qōmáyamqa, sister of 24; single
26. Mabel Qotcátawa, daughter of 15; single
27. Sáala'hu, sister of 26; single
28. Viola Qōtcoñalsi, sister of 18, daughter of 12; single

### *Eagle Clan*

All from First Mesa died with Adam last summer (i.e., in 1914).

### *tēpnāmō Clan*

Qō'ya, the sole survivor, was brought up by her father's second wife, a Cloud-Corn woman; hence, is now reckoned a member of that clan.

### *asnōmō Clan*

1. Sikyátala; wife, dead, Nōqwáim'qa, qatcina
2. Mōn'na, nephew of 1; wife, S'amqa, Rabbit
3. Toqwō'nañ'ō', brother of 2; wife, Puñyáwōnqa, Rabbit
4. Tōwáqōqō, nephew of 1, 2, 3; wife, Hōqwanō, Bear clan of Tewa
5. Wáji, brother of 4; wife, Lēnaici, Coyote
6. Albert Náhi, brother of 5; wife, Páqwa, qatcina of Tewa
7. George Náhi, brother of 6; wife, Qōmáwōcnōma, Sun clan of Oraibi
8. Hale Cūñqi, nephew of 6 and 7; wife, Qōtcámana, Butterfly
9. Pōwulí, own sister of 1; husband, Sikya'honaù.o, Lizard, divorced
10. Tōwámōci, daughter of 9; husband, Ciàqalé, Butterfly
11. Tōwáñainōmō, daughter of 10; husband, Namiñ'há; Cloud clan of Second Mesa

12. Skyá veñqa, daughter of 10; husband, George Qoteáci; Bear clan of Tewa
13. Emma Talámönöma, daughter of 10; husband, Albert Cikyáwaiima, Rabbit
14. Evelyn Skyáhuñeci, daughter of 12; single
15. Joy, daughter of 12; single
16. Dorice, daughter of 12; single
17. Púli.ici, sister of 10; husband, dead, Ála, Horn
18. Frances Nówáhuñonöma, daughter of 17; husband, Harold Yúö'tö, Snake
19. Miltona Pöcímana, daughter of 17, dead; husband, Tom, son of Háaco, Snake
20. Hánakyo, mother of 17; husband, Tlé é(dead), Cloud
21. Taláwa, daughter of 20; husband, Albert Ciunáheptiwa; Badger clan of Second Mesa
22. Úmau'ö, sister of 17; husband, Múmi, Snake, divorced
23. Paláaiwatea, younger sister of 22; husband, Nash, Cloud-Corn
24. Nō'wa, sister of 7; husband, Lumá voya, Snake
25. Norma Naqwáñainöma, sister of 23; single
26. Annette Húnuwisonoma, daughter of 22; single
27. Sam Pávac'hüya, son of 20; wife, Tiny, Naná'mana, Bear clan of Tewa
28. Lómanañqueà, brother of 1; wife, Taláwañqa, Horn
29. Ed, Hāuto, own son of 22
30. Dick, Húntotei, own son of 22

#### MISHONGNOVI CLANS

1. Parrot clan, kyáciñyàmö
2. Kateina clan, qateñiñyàmö
3. Bear clan, húniñyàmö
4. Carrying-strap clan, piaqösñyàmö
5. ———bird clan, teöciñyàmö
6. Cedarwood-Fire clan, qöqopnyàmö
7. Badger clan, honániñyàmö
8. Butterfly clan, pöwuliñyàmö
9. Squash clan, pātañyàmö
10. Hawk clan, maciqwaiiñyàmö
11. Eagle clan, qwá.iñyàmö
12. Corn clan, pf'kyecñyàmö
13. Cloud clan, pátkiñyàmö
14. Lizard clan, qö'qöteciñyàmö

#### CENSUS OF MISHONGNOVI

##### *Parrot Clan*

1. Nasíñaiyapqa; divorced from Bear man of Shungopavi
2. Hömísiima, brother of 1; wife, dead, Corn
3. Húnuwisiomà son of 1
4. Savö'ka, son of 1
5. Talás'uñunö'ma; husband, Qö'tsqwatíwa, Corn

6. Háyi, sister's son of 5
7. Qwávioma; wife, Bear of Shipaulovi (dead)
8. Lomáñōwa, younger brother of 7; wife, Wìqtō, Butterfly
9. Robert Qöyánōmtiwa; wife, Sallávi, teócu
10. Méñko Lomáwiciomà, brother of 9; wife, Cikyáyonicì, Corn
11. Hōmího.iniva, brother to 2; wife Carrying-strap
12. Abraham Talác'uñoniwá, brother to 11
13. Dinah Tōwéwō'nima; husband, foreigner
14. Brown Siwō'yoyañ'ō, baby boy of 13
15. Dick Qwaíohōyà, own brother of 13; away from Reservation
16. Óoyowá, brother of 5

### *Katcina Clan*

1. Talásñōnici, husband, Qōwániciimà, qálō clan of Shipaulovi
2. Tawáyunici, daughter of 1; husband, divorced, Chicken-hawk
3. Polññiyama, son of 1; wife, divorced, Chicken-hawk
4. Je.i.auma, son of 1; wife, foreigner
5. Sí'qōbá, brother of 1; wife, Qōyáwainō'ma, qálō

### *Bear Clan*

1. Tōvé veñqa; husband, dead, Corn
2. Sák'ventiwá, son of 1
3. K'ácñōmqa, granddaughter of 1; husband, Masésvá, Badger
4. Qō'tsi weñqa, daughter of 3
5. ? , daughter of 3
6. ? , daughter of 3
7. Taláhoyomà, son of 3
8. Qōwányōenō'ma, sister of 3; husband, divorced, qálō clan
9. Qōwánowō'ōnōma, sister of 3; husband, Naqwáwai'tiwa, Reed
10. Masaíamisi, sister of 3
11. Píki; husband, Hōmfveemà, Eagle
12. Páveñqa, granddaughter of 11; husband, Qōmáwaimá, qálō
13. Tōwá qōq', son of 12
14. Tcavátavá, son of 12
15. Tcomíkōivá, son of 12
16. Qwávenisi, mother of 12; husband, Lománañaqiomá, Cloud
17. Páqōjōqiomà, son of 16
18. Lomá'vi, son of 16
19. Yulé'tsiomà, son of 16
20. Pálétsnō'ma, daughter of 16
21. Lomáviva, son of 16
22. Sák'mōniwá; wife, dead, Cedarwood-fire
23. Sít'quimà, brother of 22
24. Qōmá leā'tiwa, uncle of 22;<sup>1</sup> wife, K'áciyaúunō'ma, Butterfly
25. Qōmánōmtiwa, "brother" of 22; wife, Qōwányamisi, Chicken-hawk
26. Qōwánōñōvá, brother of 25; wife, Naqwaíōsnōmá, Chicken-hawk

<sup>1</sup>The genealogies assign 22 to a distinct lineage.



27. Sákiwisiomà, "brother" of 22; wife, Húnuñainömà, qálö
28. Talöwíptima, nephew of 27; wife, qálö
29. Pátala, brother of 28; wife, Qótsowisnömà, Corn
30. Sín̄yaomà, brother of 29; wife, Sikyá veñqa, Corn
31. Sikyá yoomà, nephew of 30
32. Qö'tsiyesiwa, "brother" of 22; wife, Qömáñösi, qálö
33. Pölio'ö; husband, Talásyöwusiya, Chicken-hawk
34. Masaíayahunö`ma, daughter of 33
35. Qwámöösi, daughter of 33
36. Qömáyaanö`ma; husband, Kyáacta, Badger
37. Há laihojá, son of 36
38. Daughter of 36, name not known to informant
39. Cik-áñöñöma; husband Hállaivi, Chicken-hawk
40. Qwáwisnima, daughter of 39
41. Qwáhuñvá, son of 40
42. Daughter of 40, name not known to informant

### *Carrying-Strap Clan*

1. Kyáewainömà; husband, Hömfhoiniva, Parrot
2. Cösinivá, son of 1
3. Ciwüñöñöci, daughter of 1
4. Kyáe'uya, daughter of 1
5. Hónanohoinima, daughter of 1; husband, Töwe'yauoma, Corn
6. Yóyovellé, son of 5
7. Qö'ts'unqà, daughter of 1; husband, Ned Lomáiasiwa, qálö
8. Tawá hoinima, daughter of 7
9. Töváhevinima, sister's daughter of 1; husband, Namóstiwa, Cloud
10. Qötsásiima, uncle of 9; wife, dead, Parrot

### *Tcöcu (= a Small Purple Bird) Clan*

1. Sáalak'ö; husband, Cikyá vε ema, qálö clan
2. Pöleñoisi, daughter of 1; husband unknown
3. Simútso'oma, son of 2
4. Pív'oñonö`ma, daughter of 2
5. Polívai'tíva, son of 1
6. Námqina, son of 1
7. Töwáñöyaùnöma, daughter of 1
8. Tawánömösi, daughter of 1
9. Tálaumàna, daughter of 1
10. Qatcina, brother of 1
11. Sallávi, sister of 1; husband, Robert Qöyánömtiwa, Parrot
12. Laqónomàna, daughter of 11
13. Kyá cözö, son of 11
14. Kyáci.estivá, son of 11
15. Lomátoqöma, son of 11
16. Tiwáñainöma, "daughter" of 11; husband, Luke Qöwányosiya, Badger
17. May Qwitchoinimà, daughter of 16

18. Sikyá woli, son of 16
19. Tōwá hōyomà, brother of 16
20. Lomátōna; wife, Qwá'ō', Cloud
21. Naciletstíwa, brother of 20, uncle of 16; wife (dead) Chicken-hawk
22. Nahō'ttiwa, nephew of 20; wife, dead, Butterfly

#### *Cedarwood-Fire Clan*

1. Qwámana; husband, Yōto, Bear
2. Húnumöisi, daughter of 1
3. Tawáhuñunáya, son of sister of 1
4. Sák'uñvá, brother of 1; wife, (dead), Butterfly
5. Talafuniç, sister of 1; husband, Hōmi'nainíva, Chicken-hawk
6. Ö'veñqà, daughter of 5
7. Qotsoñainōma, daughter of 5
8. Qwáwaiisi, daughter of 5
9. Qóts'oinō'ma, daughter of 5
10. Qoiyáveñqa, daughter of 5
11. Qótsqwapönō'ma, sister of 5; husband, Qótsowai'tiwa, qálö
12. Masáqwöpnō'ma, daughter of 11
13. Tawá waiisi, daughter of 11
14. Son of 11, name not known to informants
15. Tawá haiyomá, brother of 11, away at school (1916)
16. Qóts'evtiwá, brother of 11; wife (divorced), qálö
17. Qōwánō wōjōqiomà, brother of 11, wife (divorced), Cloud
18. Qōyáhuñuci, Sak'mōniwa's daughter
19. Hōmínōmisi, sister of 18
20. Sáqamasà, uncle of 18; wife, Tōwánömqa, Corn
21. Qótsövoyà.uma, brother of 1; wife, Qōwáñōñōnōma, Corn
22. Mō'ñya'ō', uncle of 1; wife, Qá'ö, qálö

The last-named man really belongs to the *iciñyàmö*, Coyote clan, but being the only man left, he joined the *qōqopn'àmō*, this being a linked clan. According to Luke and his wife only Qwámana and her blood-kin are *Qōqop people*; all the rest are Coyote clansfolk who have emigrated from Oraibi.

#### *Badger Clan*

1. Qwāweñqá, Luke's own sister; husband, Rudolf Tōwēyoosia, Squash
2. Tēōcuwisnima, daughter of 1
3. Sōnowaisi, daughter of 1
4. Daughter of 1, whose name is not known to informant
5. Qō'tsya.unō'ma, daughter of sister of mother of 1; husband, Sī.estiwà, Chicken-hawk
6. Qwāñcunōma, daughter of 5
7. Qatsínamàna, daughter of 5<sup>1</sup>
8. Tallásmàna, daughter of Qōyáwöiniçi, who is dead

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<sup>1</sup>Also given in pedigree as daughter of sister of 9.

9. Luke Qōwányōsiyà, brother of 1; wife, Tiwáñainōma, Bluebird
10. Sikyáhuyōima, own uncle of 9; wife, Tallási, qálō
11. Mas sva; wife, Kyácinōmqà, Bear
12. Sunáhevtiwà, own brother of 11; wife, Tallaúwainōma, ās clan of Sichumovi
13. Hōmi'nnōvtiwà, wife (dead), Bear
14. K'áacta, own brother to 13; wife, Qōmáyaunōmà, Bear
15. Kyéllahuñwá, own brother to 13 and 14; wife, Yámisi, qálō

The three last-named were own brothers of the grandmother of Qōyáwōinici, 16.

### *Butterfly Clan*

1. Wi'q'tō, husband, Lomáñōwa, Parrot
2. Kyásiaunō'ma, daughter of 1; husband, Qōmále'tiwá, Bear
3. An'nse, son of 2
4. Húnomutsowō', son of 2
5. Tsōsiyamqa, daughter of 2
6. Tcōzómica, son of 2
7. Tōwéhainōmà, daughter of 2
8. Qōwáyau.inō'ma, daughter<sup>1</sup> of 1; husband, Nōvāñainiwà, qálō
9. Talláhocnō'ma, daughter of 8
10. Tawáoyo.imà, son of 8
11. Tawáweñqa, daughter of 8
12. Qōyáveema, son of 8
13. Yovíveñqa, own sister of 8; husband, Tövénemtiwa, qálō
14. Tawáyau.unō'ma, daughter of 13; husband, Öi'ma, Chicken-hawk
15. Baby boy of 14, name unknown to informants
16. Talláveñqa, daughter of 13
17. Sōhō', son of 13
18. Qwāvō'hō, son of 13
19. Pōyalti, son of 13
20. Tawássōimá, son of 13
21. Tcōcuñai.isi', daughter of 13; husband, Hōmi'ventiwá, qálō
22. Cfyau.unō'ma, sister of 21; husband, Návemema, qálō
23. Mi'lletstiwa, brother of 1; wife (dead), Bear
24. Sákuletstiwa, nephew of 23; wife, Pollíqwāvi, Chicken-hawk
25. Qivánōhēvtiwà, brother of 24; wife, Puñayai'yamqa, Carrying-Strap
26. Siwfamtiwà; wife, Nacō'hōmàna, qálō

### *Squash Clan*

1. Masáwai.isi; husband, Qōyáawai'tiwa, qálō
2. Qōyáhoinō'ma, daughter of 1; husband, Qōwánowaiimà, Sun clan of Shungopavi
3. K'áciyésiwa, son of 2
4. Qōtsiyammisi, sister of 2; husband, Páqavi, Horn clan of First Mesa
5. Qwáhoinō'ma, daughter of 4
6. Qwáveema, son of 4

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<sup>1</sup>In the genealogies she is given as of a different lineage.

7. Tawá lletsnö`ma, own daughter of 1; husband, Pulli'waümà, Lizard
8. Punióma, son of 7
9. Hōqonomàna, daughter of 7
10. Ōiwisa, brother<sup>1</sup> of 1; wife, dead, Parrot
11. Tallácowòhiomà, nephew of 10; wife, Tawámōnōmà, Corn
12. Tōwēyousīya, nephew of 11; wife, Qwāveñqa, Badger
13. Növáovà, brother of 12; wife, Qöyáñainōma, qálō

### *Chicken-Hawk Clan*

1. Qōwányamisi; husband, Hōmánōmtiwa, Bear
2. Sñqwa, son of 1
3. Lizzie, daughter 1
4. Húnhe vtiwa, son of 1
5. Yóyowisnō`ma, daughter of 1
6. Táv hōyà, son of 1
7. Návhoiñiwa, uncle of 1
8. Növávenisì, sister of 1; husband, Tövéanyañqiomà, Corn
9. Má'qwaiya, son of 8
10. ɛ'petavi, son of 8
11. Qōwánowisnō`ma, sister of 8; husband, dead, Badger
12. Húnhuñvá, grandson of 11
13. Húnuwainōma, granddaughter of 11
14. Naqwai'snō`ma, "daughter" of 1; husband, Qowánōñōvâ, Bear
15. Húnuveñqa, daughter of 14
16. Teócuwōnisì, sister of 14; husband, divorced, qateína
17. Qá'ō, daughter of 16; husband, Tōwáhoyo.imà, teócu
18. Teoyómanà, daughter of 17
19. O'poqiomà, son of 16
20. K'achoyo.imà, son of 16
21. Polli'qwavì, mother of 16; husband, Sákoletstiwà, Butterfly
22. K'ácñōnō`ma, daughter of 21
23. Lomávoli, son of 22
24. Baby girl of 22, not yet named
25. Cōwi, son of 21
26. Yō'ō.usì, son of 21
27. Cucúñqiva, brother of 1; wife, K'ellenñōōci
28. Tallásyōōsià, brother of 27; wife, Póleo'ō, Bear
29. Hállaivi, brother of 28; wife, Sikyáñainō`ma, Bear
30. Hōmi'ñainiwa, brother of 29; wife, Tallai.unici, Cedarwood-Fire
31. Honáncōjō, nephew of 29; wife, Toveññōnōma, Lizard
32. Náqəvō, brother of 31; wife, Tōwáñayamqà, Snow clan of Shungopavi
33. Teósnōmtiwa, brother of 32; wife, a Pima Indian
34. Lomalk'ajò, brother of 33; wife, Bear
35. Sīyestiwa; wife, Qō'tsyahunōwâ, Badger
36. Henry Yóyañwō
37. Ō'iimà; wife, Tawáíunō`ma, Butterfly

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<sup>1</sup>10 appears in an older generation than 1 in the genealogy

*Eagle Clan*

1. Hömi'vèema; wife, Piki, Bear
2. Sikyá yamtiva, nephew of 1; wife, Tawai' yamisi, Bear clan of Shungopavi
3. Húncōzō, nephew of 2; is away at school

2, having gone to Shungopavi to live with his wife there, told another man to occupy the Eagle house of the village, viz., Naqwá wai'tiva, an Oraibi of the Reed clan, whose wife, Qōwánōwō'nōma, is of the Bear clan.

*Corn Clan*

1. Tōwánōmqā, husband; Saq'masà, Cedarwood-Fire
2. Qōyá wai.imà, son of 1
3. Cikyá tai.i, son of 1
4. Naqwaí ya.oma, son of 1
5. Nasí qwai.o, son of 1
6. Sikyaonici, daughter of 12; husband, Lomáwiciawà, Parrot
7. Pollwisonō'ma, daughter of 6
8. Lomaistiwa, son of 6
9. Daughter of 6, name not known to informants
10. A'tó qōqō, brother of 6; now away at school
11. Teāmi'imà, brother of 6
12. Qōwánōñōnōma, mother of 6; husband, Qōts'ōwēyaomà, Cedarwood-Fire
13. Ō'sawa, son of 12
14. Cikyáveñqa, daughter of 12; husband, Cíñoyàoma, Bear
15. Húnyamqa, daughter of 14
16. Baby boy of 14, name not known to informants
17. Lottie Tawá mōnōma, sister of 14; husband, Talláecowōhōomà, Squash
18. Húnveemà, son of 17
19. Hú'imá, brother of 14
20. Lomá wōñōya, uncle of 14
21. Qō'tsuwisonōma, sister of 14; husband, Pátala, Bear
22. Húnhoyiomà, son of 21
23. Húnumōnō'ma, daughter of 21
24. Qō'tsqwaftiwà; wife, Tallás'uñūnō'ma, Parrot
25. Tōveñyaiqiomá, brother of 24; wife, Növávennisi, Chicken-hawk
26. Masámōniwa, Luke's father, nephew of 24; wife, Nō'ei, qálō

*Cloud Clan*

1. Qwáhō; husband, Nomátōna, teōeu
2. Teōeuvennicì (albino), daughter of 1; husband, (divorced) Cedarwood-Fire
3. Mávcì, son of 2
4. Qōyátaio, son of 2
5. Sikyáwiciomà, son of 2
6. Cívhuñūnō'ma, daughter of 2
7. Piaqō'ca, son of 2
8. Teóswōñqa, daughter of 1



9. Talláqwavenöma, granddaughter of 1<sup>1</sup>
10. Tafima, grandson of 1
11. Penema, grandson of 1
12. Qwáhuñunö`ma; husband, dead, Badger
13. Tawáini, own sister of 9, 10, 11
14. Sikyá naqəvö, uncle of 12
15. Cíwinö, brother of 12
16. Namústiwa, brother of 1; wife, Töváhevnö`ma, Carrying-strap
17. Naqwá huñuwa, brother of 16; wife, Tövé`huñusì, qálö

### *Lizard Clan*

1. Qömánömqa; husband, Lomá qöiva, Carrying-strap of other village
2. Kélleñöici, daughter of 1; husband, Cucúñqiwa, Chicken-hawk
3. Naqwánönö`ma, daughter of 2
4. Son of 2, name not known to informant
5. Naqwaíesivà, son of 1
6. éototò, grandson of 1<sup>2</sup>
7. Máwiqi, grandson of 1
8. Tövá ciiwaià, grandson of 1
9. Tövé`nönöma, daughter of 1; husband, Hunánicizö, Chicken-hawk
10. Pullíwaiima, son of 1; wife, Tawálletsnö`ma, Squash
11. Lománaqucö, brother of 10; wife (dead) təcəu

### CENSUS OF SHIPAULÖVI

The village of Shipaulövi presents the peculiarity of comprising only two clans, in other words, of having a moiety organization. Or, to be more precise, its organization *would* have conformed to the ordinary moiety type were it not for the fact that marriages were open with individuals from other villages, so that a considerable number of men resident in Shipaulövi in 1916 came from Mishongnovi, Shungopavi, Oraibi, and the First Mesa, while of course Shipaulövi men have emigrated to other villages in accordance with the rules of matrilocal residence. According to one statement, the preponderance of *Qálö* people was not always so great and there was consequently less tendency to seek mates from other villages, whence the informant derived the once greater frequency of cross-cousin marriages or, at all events, of marriage between a man and a woman classed with his father's sister.

On the other hand, two old women noted the former existence of a third clan, the Cloud clan, to which Qömáqwafenö`ma's father was said to have belonged. These informants at first said they knew of no other clan ever regarded as native to Shipaulövi. Later, however, they spoke

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<sup>1</sup>9, 10, and 11 are children of a deceased daughter of 1.

<sup>2</sup>6, 7, and 8 are children of the daughter of 9, who lives in another house.

of Naqwaiámqa's father as having been a Shipaulovi man of the Carrying-strap clan. They explained that this clan had existed at Shipaulovi long ago, but that all the women had died and that the men had joined the Bear clan. The census gives independent evidence of the former existence of a Carrying-strap clan at Shipaulovi (see *Qálö* clan, no. 52). It would thus seem that at Shipaulovi the dual division, such as it is, resulted from a secondary reduction in the number of clans, a theoretically interesting fact.<sup>1</sup>

Of the forty-eight marriages outside Shipaulovi, twenty-six are definitely known to have been with Mishongnovi individuals and this number would probably be increased by three if I had not failed to ascertain the clan affiliations of dead spouses in these cases. Shungopavi ranks next with thirteen cases, the First Mesa furnishes four, Oraibi, and an unspecified foreign tribe, one each.

Ignoring local affiliations and including the two cases of Qömaqwa-fenö'ma's husband and father, we can tabulate the data for unions between clans as follows:—

	<i>Bear</i>	<i>Qálö</i>
Bear	0	11
<i>Qálö</i>	4	0
Chicken-hawk	3	0
Squash	1	2
Flute		2
Kachina		3
Corn		3
Cloud		8
Badger		2
Butterfly		5
Carrying-strap		6
Cedarwood		6
Bluebird		2
Coyote		1
Snow		1

In this tabulation the unions between Bear and *Qálö* people are not duplicated, so that the record indicates a total of fifteen such unions. Owing to the depletion of the Bear people their potential preference cannot be determined from the data. With regard to the *Qálö* clan it would be rash to infer any disinclination on the part of its members to mate with any particular clan. Of the Mishongnovi clans only the Eagle, Parrot, Lizard, and Chicken-hawk people are wholly unrepresented; and of these the Eagles are practically extinct, and the Parrots and Lizards form small groups. On the other hand, it is possible that the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Lowie, Robert H., *Primitive Society* (New York, 1920), 136 f.

absence of marriages between Chicken-hawks and *Qálö* is significant, for the latter clan is associated with the sun and in Fewkes's classification the Sun and Chicken-hawk are linked.<sup>1</sup> The figures tabulated above may be combined so as to indicate the extent to which the *Qálö* married into those "phratric" associations of clans now recognized as linked on the Second Mesa (see p. 332). Then we find that unions with phratries VI and VIII are not represented, while those with the remaining groups are as follows: I—3; II—19; III—2; IV—7; VII—11.

#### *Bear Clan (húniñyamö)*

1. Qōwánnevenisi (Sophy); husband (divorced), ε'petāvi, Chicken-hawk clan of Mishongnovi
2. Qwáyecnōma, daughter of 1
3. Qōwáñhuñunōma; husband, Lomañkyajo, Chicken-hawk clan of Mishongnovi
4. Tcö''ōmàna
5. Cikyáñeyamqa (Elsie), sister of 4
6. A daughter of 3
7. Cikyáqöqö, brother of 4
8. Cōnniavá, brother of 4
9. Tála, brother of 4
10. Talláwaiōmá, brother of 4
11. Hōmíhoñova, brother of 3; wife (dead), Chicken-hawk
12. Tallásamōñivá, brother of 11; wife, Qōtsáavatsá, qálö
13. Macáqwativá, parallel cousin of 1 and 3; wife, Tōwá'qabənōma, qálö of Oraibi clan
14. Cikyalletstivá, uncle of 13; wife, Pavū'nemanà, qálö
15. Lomábentibá; wife (dead), qálö
16. Qōwánnahuñvá, nephew of 15; wife, Squash clan of Mishongnovi

#### *Qálö Clan*

1. Síveñqa, daughter of Hunávisi (dead); husband, Wō'pa, Flute clan,<sup>2</sup> of First Mesa
2. Qōyáwainō'ma, sister of 1; husband, Sí'qövä, Kachina clan of Mishongnovi
3. Qoqúsoje, son of 2
4. Tsíyaomà, son of 2
5. Puñyánōmqà, daughter of 2
6. Kacì'namàna, daughter of 2
7. Qōmáwaiimà, brother of 1; wife, Pávenqa, Bear clan of Mishongnovi
8. Sáqwiesnōmà, maternal grandmother of 1; husband (dead), Corn clan of Mishongnovi
9. Cikyá'piki, brother of 8; wife (dead), Cloud clan of Hano

<sup>1</sup>"Handbook of American Indians" (*Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology*, vol. 1, Washington, 1907), 562.

<sup>2</sup>He was designated as a lētūñwa, which my interpreter this time translated "Grass clan."



10. Talássi, daughter of 8; husband, Sikyáhoyòimá, Badger clan of Mishongnovi
11. Qõ'tsiyõsnõ'ma (Jessie), daughter of 10
12. Nāvenmá, son of 10; wife, Sī.auunõ'ma, Butterfly clan of Mishongnovi
13. Qõyāñainõ'ma, daughter of 10; husband, Nõváova, Squash clan of Mishongnovi
14. Sihoinõniá (Catherine), daughter of 13
15. Yõ'ucimà, brother of 10
16. Teócoqtõ, grandson of 10 by deceased daughter
17. Hásgye, grandson of 10 by another deceased daughter
18. Hõji'sqwapõ, daughter of 8; husband (dead), Bear clan of Shungopavi
19. Qõmáñõõsi, daughter of 18; husband, Qõteiyesva, Bear clan of Mishongnovi
20. Palõ'õñhauoyà, son of 19
21. Pulli'wainõma, daughter of 19
22. A baby daughter of 19
23. Lomáñainivá, son of 18; wife, (divorced, living in Shungopavi), Carrying-strap
24. Nasí'yamtiva, son of 18
25. Tõvéhuñusi, daughter of 18; husband, Naqwáhuñuva, Cloud clan of Mishongnovi
26. Páqhuyà, son of 25
27. Pálõloqañwa, son of 25
28. Masáhuñsi, granddaughter of 18
29. Pulli'wõnqá, granddaughter of 18
30. Qõ'tsõwai'tiwà, son of 18; wife, Qõ'tsqwanõma, Cedarwood-fire clan of Mishongnovi
31. Húnyamqa, granddaughter of 18; husband, Tálowiftimà, Bear clan of Mishongnovi
32. Máq'tsaalaúa, brother of 31
33. Qõ'mbi, brother of 31
34. Yámsi; husband, Kéllehuñivá, Badger clan of Mishongnovi
35. Nas'õ', daughter of 34; husband, Sivíyamti'va, Butterfly clan of Mishongnovi
36. Sikyáhuñunõ'ma, daughter of 35
37. Húnuwa'õ, son of 35
38. Kyácwõñqa, granddaughter of 34
39. Péntima, grandson of 34<sup>1</sup>
40. Húnuñainõmá, daughter of 34; husband, Sák'wisíomá, Bear clan of Mishongnovi
41. Kyájo, daughter of 40
42. Kyáciyavtivá, son of 40
43. Cíñõ'tivà, brother of 40; wife (divorced), Bear clan of Hano
44. Hõmí'ventiva, brother of 40; wife, Teóchuñaiisi', Butterfly clan of Mishongnovi
45. Húñuwai'tiva, son of sister of mother of 34; wife, Cloud clan of Shungopavi
46. Teócuñvá, brother of 45; wife, Nõwánnõmqá, Carrying-strap clan of Shungopavi
47. Qõmáheftiva, brother of 46; lives in foreign tribe

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<sup>1</sup>Also given as the son of a dead sister of 34.

48. Pāvütsnömá; husband, Tō'ñuva, Carrying-strap clan of Shungopavi
49. Maci'wōlli, daughter of 48
50. Tōvénōmtiwà, brother of 48; wife, Yovi'vaqa, Butterfly
51. Lomai'hiniyüñwa, brother of 48; wife, Qōwáneweñqa, Cloud
52. Qōmáqwafenō'ma; husband (dead), Carrying-strap clan of Shipaulovi
53. Qōyáwai'tiwà, son of 52; wife, Masáwaiisì, Squash clan of Mishongnovi
54. Sik'ávεima, son of 52; wife, Sá'alakò, Bluebird clan of Mishongnovi
55. Qá'ö, sister of 52; husband, Mōñya'ö, Coyote clan of Mishongnovi
56. Súnnwai'ó, daughter of 55; husband, Tawáñoitivá, Cloud clan of Shungopavi
57. Qō'tsuñainō'má, daughter of 56
58. Yòqunfima, son of 56
59. Ō'mau'ö, daughter of 56; husband, Qwámöniva, Snow (növá) clan of Shungopavi
60. Növáhuñuva, son of 59
61. Növáyevvá, son of 59
62. Növáyεsnömá, daughter of 59
63. Páhuñnöma, sister of 59; husband, Qōmáletstiva, Cloud clan of Shungopavi
64. Naqwai'amqa; husband (dead), Bear
65. Hōmai'amici, daughter of 64; husband, Ní'tiomà, Flute clan of First Mesa
66. Si'ñainō'ma, daughter of 65; husband, Növávai'tiwá, Bear clan of Shungopavi
67. Táwa'manà, daughter of 66
68. Tō'qwavi, son of 66
69. Caqwápö', daughter<sup>1</sup> of 65; husband, Tawávönö, Bluebird clan of Shungopavi
70. Qōwánnsiimá, son of 64; wife, Tallásñönicì, Kachina clan of Mishongnovi
71. Hahai'i, daughter of own sister of 64;<sup>2</sup> husband, Qōwánnystibá, Bear clan of Shipaulovi
72. Hōmíyamtiva, brother of 71; wife (dead), Bear clan of Shipaulovi
73. Húnyöisi, son of 71
74. Tcójómanicì, daughter of 71
75. Húnuwisonö'ma, daughter of 71
76. Qōyáhunumàna, daughter of 71
77. Tsojónoqwa, son of 71
78. Qōwánañainöma
79. Tcöcuñöisi', daughter of 78; husband, Masámönivá, Corn clan of Mishongnovi
80. Masáveñqa, daughter of 79; husband, Pásiivaiyà, Kachina clan of Shungopavi
81. Kéllowisnömá, daughter of 80
82. Sfqwaftivà, son of sister of 80
83. Páqwa, sister of 82
84. Pácsiva, brother of 83
85. Pulli'huñqa, sister of 84

<sup>1</sup>According to the genealogy, a daughter of 65's sister.

<sup>2</sup>Living at the Mission in 1916.

86. Qötsávatsa (Bertha), daughter of 79; husband, Tallásmōniva, Bear clan of Shipaulovi
87. Yóyovennsi, daughter of sister of 86
88. Qömátiva, brother of 80; wife, Talláwisiñmá, Carrying-strap clan of Shungopavi
89. Lomai'estivá, brother of 88; wife, Qö'tshuñqá, Carrying-strap clan of Mishongnovi
90. Qömai'amtiva, son of sister of mother of 34
91. Pavü'nemanà, sister of 78; husband, Cikyállstìva, Bear clan of Shipaulovi
92. Növáhoyomà, son of 91; wife, (divorced), Bear clan of Mishongnovi
93. Növáñainiwa, son of 91; wife, Butterfly clan of Mishongnovi
94. Qömáwisiomà, son of sister of 91, wife, (divorced), Corn clan of Mishongnovi
95. Húncoho, brother of 8; wife, Cloud clan of Shungopavi

#### CLAN AND MATERNAL LINEAGE

Doctor A. A. Goldenweiser has drawn a useful distinction between the maternal family and the clan of the Iroquois.<sup>1</sup> In aboriginal theory no distinction is drawn, i.e., the clan members are conceived as the descendants of a single ancestress, as blood-kin. However, it is not possible to prove the actual kinship of clan-mates except in a limited number of clans, and according to Doctor Goldenweiser's estimate the Iroquois clan of the seventeenth century embraced from two to five maternal families, i.e., distinct matrilineal stocks. These units were nameless, yet functioned none the less clearly in Iroquois life. Though in native theory offices were associated with clans, an objective investigation shows that they were primarily connected with the maternal family, and only when the list of blood-kindred through the same ancestress was exhausted did the title pass to one of the other maternal families of the clan.

On my first visit to the Hopi in 1915 I arrived at the conclusion that the clans of the First Mesa were in reality maternal families differing from those of the Iroquois mainly in bearing names. This impression I conveyed in my reports from the field to Doctors Wissler and Goddard. For example, I wrote as follows:—

I have two nascent ideas. One is that the clans are really what Goldenweiser among the Iroquois calls a "maternal family." The number of members in those clans of which I have so far attempted a census is surprisingly small and all seem to be related. Now this obviously differs widely from a clan in which many members cannot trace blood-kinship. Secondly, certain statements seem to indicate that clan-ship depends somewhat on ownership of certain houses, but on that point I am less positive.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Summary Report of the Geological Survey, Canada, for the Calendar Year 1913, 368 seq.

<sup>2</sup>Letter of June 26, 1915.

The following summer, however, I re-visited the First Mesa and also took a careful census of Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi, which led me to reject the hypothesis formed. I then wrote:—

My last year's impression that a clan represents a single maternal family is only partly borne out. I have just constructed some genealogical tables, which in a number of instances reveal two distinct families, i.e., families whose informants can no longer trace blood kinship though insisting on the clan bond.<sup>1</sup>

Since then Doctor Elsie Clews Parsons has independently arrived at the conclusion that the Hopi clans are matrilineal groups of real blood-kindred.

My present attitude may be summarized as follows. Of the existence and the importance of the maternal lineage<sup>2</sup> among the Hopi there can be no doubt. Whenever the statement is made that a certain office or ceremonial privilege belongs to a clan, concrete data always show that transmission is, above all, within the narrow circle of actual blood-kin and only secondarily extends to unrelated clansmen. The question remains, however, to what extent the clans as now constituted among the Hopi coincide with the maternal family and here the evidence varies for different clans. I prefer to discuss the problem only for Shipaulovi and Mishongnovi because there I took special pains to discriminate between actual and mere clan relationship. The results are as follows, the figure after each clan name indicating the number of distinct matrilineal lineages, i.e., lineages between which my informants fail to discover any bond of blood-kinship:—

<i>Clans</i>	<i>Mishongnovi</i>	<i>Clans</i>	<i>Shipaulovi</i>
	<i>Maternal Lineages</i>		<i>Maternal Lineages</i>
Parrot	2	Bear	2
Kachina	1	Qálō	5
Badger	2		
Bluebird	2		
Bear	2		
Corn	3		
Butterfly	2		
Cedarwood	1		
Chicken-hawk	1		
Squash	1		
Eagle	1		
Carrying-strap	1		
Lizard	1		

Of the thirteen Mishongnovi clans, there are thus seven which coincide with single lineages and of the remainder the majority are composed of

<sup>1</sup>Letter of September 17, 1916.

<sup>2</sup>Since "family" has definite connotations, Gifford's term "lineage" seems preferable for a unilateral group of real blood-kin.



only two lineages. I have here cited the Cedarwood clan as in the former category, though in my census no less than three lineages are represented. However, only one of these groups properly represents the Mishongnovi clan of that name, a second is represented by a sole survivor of the linked Coyote clan of Mishongnovi, the third by Coyote immigrants from Oraibi. Cases of this sort are not isolated among the Hopi; that is to say, in a number of cases the union of two or more matrilineal lineages in one clan is demonstrably due to similar factors. I am therefore inclined to assume with Dr. Parsons that basically the Hopi clans are maternal lineages. If I nevertheless retain the term "clans," it is because it is preferable not to inject hypothetical elements into mere description.

The several lineages are presented in the Appendix in genealogical form (see p. 347 seq.).

#### LINKED CLANS

As appears likewise from earlier accounts, the Hopi clans are linked into larger units, which have sometimes been designated as phratries. In this connection it is essential to distinguish between actual clans, present or known to have become extinct within the memory of men still living, and mere clan *names* associated together by native theorizers. Professor Kroeber has shown<sup>1</sup> that distinct clans corresponding to each and every one of the names recorded are inconceivable since such an hypothesis would reduce the average clan to a membership of four individuals. It seems that for different reasons pairs or whole series of designations are linked by the Hopi: sometimes the associated names really correspond to distinct, but linked, clans; sometimes they are regarded as distinct names for the same clan; sometimes there is no pretense that certain of the names were ever in historic times borne by any Hopi group, yet they are given in an enumeration of clans in association with the names of certain definite clans now extant. My *own* data would suggest a considerably greater tendency to link clan names at Mishongnovi than on the First Mesa, but Doctor Fewkes's lists prove that the inclination is by no means less developed at Walpi and Sichumovi. In the little village of Shipaulovi, with its two clans, of course no linkage was to be expected.

I present herewith the lists secured at Mishongnovi and on the First Mesa:<sup>2</sup>—

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<sup>1</sup>*This series*, vol. 18, 137.

<sup>2</sup>I accept several names of Doctor Fewkes's list, on the assumption that as a zoologist he was able to make a determination of species. Thus, my interpreter gave merely Hawk for pigeon-hawk and Chicken-hawk, Stork for Crane, etc.

	<i>Mishongnovi</i>		<i>First Mesa</i>
I	{ 1. Parrot	kyáciñyamö	
	{ 2. Kachina	qateíñiyamö	' Kachina
	{ 3. Raven	añwö'ciñyamö	
II	{ 4. Bear	húñiyamö	Bear
	{ 5. Carrying-strap	piqö'snyamö	
	{ 6. Spider	qú'kyañyamö	
	{ 7. Bluebird	teóciñyamö	
	{ 8. A Digging Animal	mö'yíñyamö	
	{ 9. Bear's Eye	(wíqosiñyamö)	
III	{ 10. Cedarwood-Fire	táwañyamö	Sun
	{ 11. Red-headed Men	qóqopnyamö	Charcoal-Coyote
	{ 12. Coyote	máciñyamö	
IV	{ 13. Badger	íciñyamö	
	{ 14. Butterfly	honániñyamö	Badger
	{ 15. Tobacco	pöwuliñyamö, puliñyamö	Butterfly
	{ 16. Cottontail Rabbit	pívañyamö, pípinyamö	Tobacco
	{ 17. Porcupine	táviñyamö	Cottontail Rabbit
V	{ 18. Squash	möñyááñyamö	
	{ 19. Pigeon-hawk	pátañyamö	Squash
	{ 20. Crane	qélliñyamö	
VI	{ 21. Chicken-hawk	atöq'ñyamö	
	{ 22. Eagle	macíqwaiñyamö	
	{ 23. Wild Turkey	qwáñyamö	Eagle
VII	{ 24. Corn	qoyúñyamö	
	{ 25. Cloud	pí'k'ecñyamö <sup>1</sup>	Cloud-Corn
	{ 26. Plant with yellow blossom	pátkiñyamö <sup>2</sup>	
VIII	{ 27. Lizard	siváfiñyamö	
	{ 28. Sand	qö'qöteñyamö	Lizard
	{ 29. Snake	töváñyamö	
IX	{ 30.	teö'iñyamö	Snake
	{ 31.	áliñyamö	Horn
X	32.	léñyamö	Flute
XI	33.	páqapnyamö	Reed
XII	34.	tépnyamö	Greasewood
		ásnyamö	Mustard

Although the names secured on the two Mesas coincide only in part and though certain clans represented on one are wholly lacking on the other, there is little positive disagreement regarding the arrangement

<sup>1</sup>The native name given to the Corn clan at the First Mesa was *qaö'nyamö*. The Mishongnovi term given above is translated "Young Corn Ear" by Mr. Voth: Dorsey, George A. and Voth, H. R., "The Mishongnovi Ceremonies of the Snake and Antelope Fraternities" (*Anthropological Series, Field Columbian Museum*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1902), 175.

<sup>2</sup>This properly means Water-house (Dorsey and Voth, *ibid.*, 175).

of names common to both. In Walpi, no less than at Mishongnovi Charcoal and Coyote, Tobacco and Cottontail, Cloud and Corn, Lizard and Snake, Badger and Butterfly are united. The only significant difference lies in the fact that my Walpi informant separated Badger and Butterfly from Tobacco and Cottontail, while the Mishongnovi list groups all four together.

As regards the connection of clans the following information was given at Mishongnovi:—

An old Parrot man said he could not explain why the Parrot and Kachina people belong together, but made an obscure remark about a quarrel and consequent division. He could recall no case of intermarriage between these two clans. He regards the old Kachina people as his brothers and sisters, the younger men and women as his sister's children. The sense of relationship extends to Kachina clansfolk of the First Mesa. The Raven (Crow) people are said to have once lived in Mishongnovi, but they became extinct and the Kachina clan got their land. Dorsey and Voth assign one of their Antelope fraternity members to three clans at the same time, viz., the Crow, Kachina, and Cooyoko.

Concerning the second group of names it is important to note that only the Bear, Carrying-strap, and Bluebird clans occur in the census. The Spider and Bear's-eye clans were said to be extinct in Mishongnovi, but still to be found in Oraibi, while the *mō'yiñyamō* were not represented in either village. It is interesting to find that Dorsey and Voth list one member of the Snake fraternity as belonging to both the Carrying-strap and the Bluebird clan.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the combination of names associated in this group I was told that the subsequent Bear clan people encountered a dead bear lying down and made a carrying-strap from its skin. From its sinews the Spider made its web, while the *tcō'jo*<sup>2</sup> developed from the bones when the corpse had been reduced to a skeleton. Up one of the bones climbed the *mō'yi*, a corn-eating burrowing animal smaller than the rat. Finally the bear's eyes came out of their sockets. In consequence the people adopted all of these names. The present Hopi do not know where this happened, but the older people talk about it.

In the third group the Red-headed Men occur neither in Mishongnovi nor in Oraibi. Dorsey and Voth assign one of their Antelope fraternity men to both the Wood and Fire (*tövu*) clans at the same time. They also list a man of the Yellow Fox clan, which according to Fewkes's

<sup>1</sup>Dorsey and Voth, *ibid.*, 175.

<sup>2</sup>Described as a purple bird, translated "bluebird" by Mr. Voth and Doctor Fewkes.

data, is linked with the *Qóqop*. Of the Mishongnovi Coyote people the solitary survivor in 1916, Mö'ñya'ö', had joined the Cedarwood-Fire clan. It is apparently one of the functions of a clan to absorb remnants of a linked clan. As stated in the census, the *qō'qopnyamō* of today include not only the surviving Mishongnovi Coyote man, but also a large family of Oraibi immigrants originally reckoned as Coyote people.

With respect to the fourth combination of names I learned that no Porcupine people are known to have ever lived in Mishongnovi, and that no members of the Tobacco or Cottontail clan are now living. Luke thus explained why he functioned in the *qwāqwantō* ceremony (performed at the time of the *wō'wōtcümetō*), which is the property of the Cedarwood-Fire clan: as a Badger person he is connected with tobacco and has the privilege, inherited from a superannuated mother's brother, of offering smoke in this ritual. If he had no clansman to transmit the prerogative to, he would look for a successor among his "nephews" of the surviving linked Butterfly clan. Another point of interest is that the name given to Luke's daughter, Qwítchoinima, by her father's mother's mother refers to smoke from Indian tobacco. That is to say, the name-giver could select a name associated not with her own clan but one linked with it.

Of the clans associated with the Squash the Crane people had never been seen here by my informant, but according to tradition they were once numerous, while the Pigeon-hawks are not known to have ever dwelt in Mishongnovi.<sup>1</sup>

In the group headed by the Chicken-hawk clan the Wild Turkey people were quite extinct and according to another man never residents, while the Eagles were reduced to three male survivors, of whom one had moved to Shungopavi, leaving the clan house in the custody of an Oraibi Reed man. It is important to note that in Fewkes's list Eagle and Reed are linked.

My informants did not know of any of the *siváviñyamō* associated with the Corn and Cloud people ever living in Mishongnovi. Two of Dorsey and Voth's Antelope members are assigned to the Water House (*Batki*) and Cloud (*Omawuu*) clans simultaneously.

Of the last group the Sand people were said to be extinct, though once represented here; but the Snake clan found on other Mesas, while considered related to the Lizards, never existed at Mishongnovi.

<sup>1</sup>But a *Mámajau'tō* priestess of that clan from Mishongnovi is mentioned by Fewkes, J. W. and Stephens, A. M., "The Mam-zrau-ti: A Tusayan Ceremony" (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 5, pp. 217-245, 1892), 226.



The Mustard people never existed at Mishongnovi, so far as my informant knows.

On the first Mesa I obtained the following information:—

The Kachina clan is not linked in the Hopi villages but the Hano people of the First Mesa combine the Cottonwood with the Kachina people. Fewkes, however, links with the Kachina the Cottonwood, Spruce, Blackbird, Yellow Bird, Raven, and Parrot people.

The Horn and Flute people, though not separated in my census (they are by Fewkes), were once distinct groups that met and joined on their way to the Mesa. The same likewise applies to the relations of the Badger and Butterfly people. The Snake clan was at Walpi first, next came the Horn and Flute people. The Snake clan did not want these to settle for fear of trouble with the newcomers, but these promised to make rain if allowed to settle. Accordingly they were permitted to dwell at Walpi and the Flute ceremony in part dramatizes this legendary occurrence. The Snake and Flute people call each other by kinship terms although they are distinct.

On the other hand, Lewis L̄hungwa insisted that his own clan was at once the Corn and Cloud clan; that, in other words, these were merely two designations for one group of people that had never been anything but a homogeneous body. Informants of the Second Mesa, however, declared with equal vigor that the "Corn-Cloud" folk of the First Mesa embraced three distinct lineages; Yuñai and Nasíñainöma are real Corn people who emigrated from Mishongnovi; Sikyañamici and Vénci, as well as some others, are Cloud people; and the remainder are properly *siváfiñyamö*. Luke says that when Sikyañamici and Vénci come to visit on the Second Mesa they go to Namústiwa of the Cloud (Water-house) people; on the other hand, Yúñai and Nasíñainöma visit Töwánömqa, a Corn man. He does not recall that any of the *siváfiñyamö* have visited the Second Mesa. This information is certainly most suggestive and shows how desirable it is to check up data obtained in one village with comments from natives of another.

The following remarks were made about linked clans.

The Sand-Lizard people are related to the Snake clan because on their way to the First Mesa their children played with a snake, while the older people made prayer offerings to it and got rain thereby. Hence the Snake and Lizard people regard themselves as related to each other and use kinship terms in mutual address. A Snake man would not marry a Lizard woman. This statement was confirmed by Cálak'u, but see below.

Yáqwa, on the extinction of his own clan (given as Badger, but also on another occasion as Grizzly which is almost certainly wrong) joined the Butterfly people, because the Badger and the Butterfly people met in traveling to the Hopi country.

In first speaking of his clan affiliation, Lewis described himself as an *u<sup>n</sup>ma'ö'* (Cloud) and a *qaö* (Corn) individual, but subsequently he preferred to use the term *pátki* (Water-house) in preference to the former. In Fewkes's list these names, among others, appear as designations of separate linked clans. In referring to his father, Lewis spoke of him as an *āsawüñwa* (Mustard individual) but also as a *hūcpuwüñwa* (Chapparal Cock, Fewkes). Lewis's father-in-law is both a Rabbit and a Tobacco man.

Lewis once spoke of a Pumpkin clan (*bahātiñyamö*) linked with a Cotton clan (*püöpnymö*).

Múmi made the following statement.

Long ago the people did not live on the Mesa. When some distance from it, the Snake and Horn people were separated from the Flutes; hence, they did not all arrive simultaneously, the Snakes and Horns being the first clans to get here.<sup>1</sup> The children were crying, so in order to make them cease crying their elders gave them objects they saw on the way to play with, e.g., cactus blossoms. Cálak'u told the identical story. Thus the cactus blossom became associated with this clan ("the cactus blossom would become a clan"). In recent times many people have died so that only a few of Múmi's clan (snake) remain, wherefore the Snakes, Horns and Flutes have joined the Lizards and Pumpkins. This happened about fifty years ago.

The Water-plant and Frog people joined the Cloud and Corn people, making four clans in all.<sup>2</sup> There being only one Bear man left, viz., Qútqa, he joined the Sun people<sup>3</sup> of Hano. The Snake, Flute, and Horn people intermarry "because a snake always goes into the same hole," but the Corn and Cloud people do not regard it as proper to intermarry. However, Máqto contradicted Múmi, saying that the Snake, Flute, and Horn people did not intermarry.

Háaco, Qáwoco, and their grandmother, Cálak'u, were really Lizard-Sand women but the Snake men had no women to keep their houses for them, so the people told these women to keep house for them. Thus

<sup>1</sup>Another informant said the three clans came from different places but arrived about the same time, hence, joined for ceremonies.

<sup>2</sup>Thus Múmi, like Luke but in opposition to Lewis, regards Clouds and Corn people as distinct; though related.

<sup>3</sup>Doctor Parsons explains that there is no such clan at Hano, but that the Hano Bear clan conducts the Solstice ceremonies, whence obviously my informant's statement.

they became Snake women and carry water for the Snake men during the Snake ceremony. Cálak'u spoke of herself as a Snake woman and is so classed by Fewkes. According to another informant she was a survivor of the Cactus clan and joined the Snakes.

Cupela said that his father's mother, Qoyátayo, was of the Spider (*qũ'qañ*) clan, which is now quite extinct. Qútqa's sister by another mother was the last representative of this clan. According to Fewkes, Qútqa himself is really of the Spider clan and of the Bear phratry,<sup>1</sup> but this is not in agreement with my information.

Taláci's wife belonged to the Pumpkin clan originally but there were some old Sun people who died, so the people gave her their house and she became a Sun person, her children likewise being reckoned as Sun people. Adam was alone and gave his house to Taláci's wife; he was no relative of hers, only a friend.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the Tewa people are Tobacco people. The Rabbit and Tobacco people met long ago; hence, the linking of these clans.

Cálak'u said the Lizard people had no ceremonies, for this reason they joined the Snakes. She linked the Reed, Eagle, Greasewood, Butterfly, and Badger clans. Of these Fewkes includes the first three (together with others) in one phratry, and the last two (with others) in another phratry. She also linked Bear and Sun people, who were not connected by Fewkes's informants.

#### TOTEMISM

As among the Zuñi, the clans are associated with certain sacred objects, corresponding to Kroeber's "fetiches." Thus, the Butterfly clan was said to have a winged idol of cottonwood bark, the Cloud clan masks, the Horn clan horned masks, the Snake clan a bow with a skin tied to it, the Bear clan a small bear effigy fashioned from a hard rock, the Kachina clan masks and idols of cottonwood in the semblance of little children.

However, the relationship of a clan to the eponymous animal was so irregular as hardly to merit the term "totemic." Thus, while the Butterfly people refrain from killing butterflies, the Rabbit people always kill rabbits and the Bear clan kills bears. Except at the time of the Snake dance the Snake people kill snakes, but a contrary statement was also noted. When the Hopi were engaged in hunting coyotes, the Coyote

<sup>1</sup>Fewkes, J. Walter, "Tusayan Migration Traditions" (*Nineteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, part 2, Washington, 1900), 604, footnote.

<sup>2</sup>The informant apparently identifies Sun and Eagle clan, for Adam is usually referred to as an Eagle person.



clan at first do not participate, saying, "I must not hit him, he is my uncle," but later they do not scruple about it. Men from other clans make fun of the Coyote clan by throwing coyotes up into the air.

As noted elsewhere, the Rabbit clan has the privilege of heralding a rabbit hunt because the Rabbit people own the rabbits. But they were also considered owners of the deer and accordingly heralded a deer hunt also.

#### POLITICAL CLAN FUNCTIONS

Offices, both ceremonial and political—the two concepts are not strictly separable among the Hopi—, are associated with clans through the principle of matrilineal descent. That is to say, primarily an office descends from brother to brother or maternal uncle to sister's son within what Doctor Goldenweiser calls a maternal family, or what is in this paper designated as a lineage; in the absence of matrilineal kin the privilege devolves on an unrelated clansman; and if none such exists, some member of a linked clan is substituted.

At Shipaulovi the chief told me that his office had always been held by a Bear man. In Mishongnovi there was rotation of office, representatives of the Bear, Cloud, and Parrot clans taking turns for about four years each. The crier was always taken from the Cedarwood-Fire clan; the present incumbent had been preceded by his brother. In Walpi the herald announcing a rabbit hunt belongs to the Rabbit clan, but in Mishongnovi I was told that the clan affiliations of this functionary are immaterial. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the herald who acted on September fourteenth, 1916, was a Badger man, i.e., belonged to a clan linked with the Rabbit clan, which is not now represented in this village. On the First Mesa Tõno'ə, Flute clan, was chief in 1915 and 1916, and, according to Lewis, the office had always been held by a member of that clan.

#### CLANS AND CEREMONIAL ASSOCIATIONS

On the basis of Doctor Fewkes's concrete data Professor Kroeber has arrived at the conclusion that there is no essential bond between any Hopi fraternity and the clan sharing its appellation or at least traditionally regarded as founder of the ceremonial organization in question. He shows, first, that in any one association the founders are far from numerically preponderant, all sorts of other clans being likewise represented; and, further, that the members of any particular clan largely belong to other associations than the one supposedly preferred.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, *this series*, vol. 18, 150-152.

The data I obtained on the First and Second Mesa support Professor Kroeber's general conclusion, but with the important qualification that the preferential clan supplies the head priest and that in certain cases all clansmen are conceived as at least potential participants in a ceremony.

My record for the Mishongnovi Snake dance should be compared with Dorsey and Voth's,<sup>1</sup> the latter relating to the ceremony of 1901, mine presumably to that of 1915. I obtained the following individual names of members: Lománaquci, Naqwañisiwa, Pullíwaimà, and Töwa-siiwa, Lizard clan; Lomáqöwa, Carrying-strap; Tövéeñyaqiomà, Corn; Nahötiwa, Bluebird; Hömísiima, Parrot; Sák'möniwa, Bear; Hömfñainiwa, Síniqwa, Ö'poqiomà, Cucúñqiwá, Chicken-hawk; Sák'letstiwà, Butterfly, Qö'tsvöyatumà, Coyote; Luke Qöwányösiyà, Badger; Hömívεema, Eagle; Naqwáhuñuwa, Cloud.

The numerical results of the two lists are collated below:—

1901		1915
<i>Number of Individuals</i>	<i>Clan</i>	<i>Number of Individuals</i>
2	Parrot	1
1	Kachina	0
0	Bear	1
3	Carrying-strap	1
1	Bluebird	1
1	Coyote	1
1	Badger	1
0	Butterfly	1
4	Eagle	1
0	Chicken-hawk	4
2	Corn	1
1	Cloud (Water-house)	1
3	Lizard (Snake)	4
1	Sun	0
1	Forehead	0

With regard to Dorsey and Voth's clan names I may point out that they speak of a Snake clan instead of the Lizard clan, which represents that group at Mishongnovi. One individual (7) is assigned to the Carrying-strap (Head-burden band) and Bluebird clan at the same time, while the same individual figures as a member of only the former in my own list. The discrepancies are further reduced if we consider that one of my Chicken-hawks is listed by my predecessors as belonging to the linked Eagle clan (their no. 16). The "Forehead (*Kahl*)" of the older roster

<sup>1</sup>Dorsey and Voth, *ibid.*, 174 f.

(no. 19) is manifestly not a Mishongnovi but a Shipaulovi of the *qálō* clan who took part in the Snake performance of 1901. Since the Sun (no. 14) clan is likewise unrepresented in Mishongnovi, the solitary Sun man given by Dorsey and Voth is evidently also a native of some other village. The paucity of Eagle and Carrying-strap dancers in 1915 is accounted for by the practical extinction of the former clan and the reduction of the latter, as indicated by my census.

Combining both lists, we discover that except for the Squash and Cedarwood-Fire people all the clans have been represented in the performance of the ceremony. As a matter of fact, the statement should be limited to the Squashes, for Dorsey and Voth's Coyote man (no. 4), who was also reckoned of that group by my informant in giving me the Snake dancers, appears in my *census* as a Cedarwood-Fire individual. Evidently the feeling of the equivalence of linked clans, especially in the case of numerically weak ones, is very strong. It may be that some special ceremonial function in the dance is associated with the Coyote people and that a man who is normally classed as a Cedarwood-Fire individual would be rather mentioned as a Coyote man in order to suggest his possession of some ritualistic privilege.

Comparing next the individuals in the two lists, we find that certainly nine and possibly ten of the performers in 1901 also participated in 1915. The doubtful instance is that of Dorsey and Voth's Ho-mí-wush-yo-ma, who may or may not correspond to my Hömíwεema of the Eagle clan. In all the other cases the differences in orthography fail to mask an obvious identity of names.

From the facts given me relating to entrance into the Snake association it is clear why members of all clans might be represented. According to Luke, who has been intimately associated with the fraternity for years,<sup>1</sup> men joined because the Snake chief had cured them of a swelling of the stomach or a snake bite: their entrance was equivalent to a payment of fees. Sák'-möniwa, e.g., had been bitten by a snake and cured. The reason for membership is thus precisely that which Professor Kroeber found to operate in the case of the Zuñi medical fraternities.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, it remains a fact that at Mishongnovi the performance of the Snake dance is in a preferential sense associated with the Lizard clan, i.e., the chief priesthood is held by Lománaquci and the ceremony is regarded as belonging to him by virtue of succession within his matrilineal kin. All the other dancers are not distinguished in point of rank.

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<sup>1</sup>His Indian name appears in Dorsey and Voth's list (no. 20).

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, *this series*, vol. 18, 157.

At Shipaulovi, where neither Snake nor Lizard clan exists, Cikyáletstiva of the Bear clan acted as head of the Snake fraternity and indeed as leader in all the men's ceremonies except the *wōwōtcō*. Though Cikyáletstiva was a member of the *wōwōtcimetō*, the leadership in that organization belonged to a *qálō* man. In the *məməjau'tō* a *qálō* woman took precedence.

The constitution of the Walpi Snake society was as follows: Qöyáwaima, Hóoñi, Növá'oi', Hónau'ə, Sáanna, Harold, Snake; Qákoṗti, Qávoitíma, Lizard; Háni, Mátcoma (from Oraibi), Rabbit; Yóyowaiyà, Ámmi, Taylor, Cíakale, Butterfly; Tsóyo, Lomaíamtiwa, Ō'yi, Kachina; Cítaima, Leslie, Húnuwistiwa, Kwácō, Cloud-Corn; Story, Silas, Coyote; Héō, Sikyátala, Lomá nukuca, Mustard; Añovö, Reed; Tiwáñaiwa (Oraibi), Badger; Tőkwi, Flute.

Combining these numerical results with Fewkes's, we got the following table:—

1900	Clan	1916
1	Kachina	3
1	Firewood	0
0	Coyote	2
1	Badger	1
2	Butterfly	4
2	Tobacco	0
2	Rabbit	2
9 <sup>i</sup>	Cloud-Corn	4
0	Lizard	2
1	Sand	0
7	Snake	6
1	Horn	0
1	Flute	1
2	Reed	1
7	Mustard	3

Ten individuals in Fewkes's list are readily identified with my own. The shifting of the membership in point of clan relationship is readily intelligible from the mode of admission. It is, however, quite clear that the chief priesthood is vested in the Snake clan, descending in the maternal line.

The membership of the Antelope society comprised the following: Múmi, Ahö'lla, Yé'i, Hömíhuiniwa, Snake; Tsö''owe, Máwa, Cloud-Corn; Púñtíma, Horn; Hé'i'á, Firewood; Lálaito, Lizard. Only one

<sup>i</sup>Fewkes gives seven Cloud members of Hopi stock, one Tewa Cloud man, and one Tewa Corn member.



of the names in my list has an obvious equivalent in Fewkes's earlier roster, but the clans represented coincide completely if Lizard and Sand are equated. It should be noted that the present chief of this association (1916) is Múmi, who succeeded his uncle Wiki, at the head of Fewkes's enumeration. Were Múmi to die, I was told that the office would again devolve on a Snake man.<sup>1</sup> Cupela was a member of this fraternity and in 1916 the vacancy created by his death had not yet been filled. I was told that the Cloud-Corn people, assembling in the clan house (the one occupied by Vénci), would elect a successor. They wanted my interpreter Lewis to serve but he declined. This case illustrates, at all events, the tendency to inherit membership from a clan member.

I did not make a census of the Mishongnovi Antelope organization.

The Flute ceremony of the Second Mesa is performed by two distinct groups, the *masilelentö* and the *saqwáɛlentö*, i.e., the Drab Flute and the Blue Flute fraternities, to follow Doctor Fewkes's translation. Of these I was told that the Blue Flute association ranks higher. Both ceremonies are celebrated in the same year and during the same period.

With regard to the Drab Flute ceremony Luke said that any one who so wished might join, but that the ceremony belongs to the Squash clan. The head of the organization, Ö'iwisa is a Squash man, and all the men, women and children of the Squash clan belong to it. Further, the husbands of Squash women are expected to take part except Páqavi, a Horn man from the First Mesa, who belongs to the Blue Flute organization; Pullíwaíma of the Lizard clan and Qöyáwaitiwa of the Shipaulovi qálö clan were mentioned specifically as performers because they had married Squash women. On the other hand, Qwáweñqa, a Badger woman, and her children seem to belong to the society because her husband Rudolf is of the Squash clan. The remaining members whose names were obtained are: Sák'möniwa, Masaiamisi, and Bear; Hömíñainiva and Síniqwa, Chicken-hawk; Tawaíáunömá, Butterfly; Qöyátayo and Síwonö, Cloud; Hömívεema, Eagle.

The Blue Flute ceremony is associated with the Parrot clan: Qwá-vioma of that clan is chief, and all the men, women, and children participate. On the other hand, Luke has not seen the Parrot women's husbands in the dance. Cik'ánaqavö and Namústiwa, both Cloud men, as well as Páqavi, Horn clan of the First Mesa, are members. Though the people of Shipaulovi have a Flute ceremony of their own, they help in the performance of this ritual and the Blue Flute people of Mishong-

<sup>1</sup>On a later visit Doctor Parsons actually learned that a Snake man, number 5, in my clan census, had become chief of the organization.

novi reciprocate. The Shipaulovi Blue Flute people who thus assisted their Mishongnovi colleagues included Hömíhoñova and Lomáventiwa of the Bear clan; K'ajo and K'àcowönqá of the *qalö* clan; Yðciima, whose name I do not find in my census list.

On the First Mesa there is only one Flute fraternity, of which (in 1916) Töno'ə is head priest. He is also chief of the First Mesa villages. According to Lewis, the men who rank next to him in the fraternity are Húoñi, Snake clan; Qútqa, Bear clan; Tcö''we and Lewis Le' hoñwa himself, Cloud-Corn clan. On August fourteenth to sixteenth, 1916 I was permitted to attend part of the secret ritual of the fraternity in the presence of the above-named officials of the organization, Tcö''we being away part of the time herding sheep and his nephew Lewis acting as a substitute during his absence. On the evening of the fifteenth Hani appeared in the Flute house. He formerly used to play the flute during the last day's ceremony, but is now too old to serve and instructed two Flute men in the art. As a member of the Tobacco clan it would also have been his duty to fill the pipes for the ceremonial smoking in the afternoon of the same day, but he was not there and Lewis acted as a substitute.

I was strongly impressed with the connection between office in the fraternity and membership in certain clans. The only contradictory evidence is that Töno'ə succeeded his father as chief priest. His father, however, was said to have been of the linked Horn clan, which may explain the anomaly.<sup>1</sup> All the other data are in harmony with the usual Hopi conceptions. Thus, Cúpela, Corn-Cloud, who figures in Fewkes's earlier list was succeeded by his own brother, Măqiwa, or according to another statement by Sítaiima of the same clan; and it was quite clear that Lewis was treated as a sort of apprentice or understudy of his maternal uncle, Tcö''we. If Húoñi had been away his place would have been taken by another Snake man. Since Qútqa is the sole survivor of the Bear clan, Wö'nötö, Reed clan, was spoken of as his successor because of the affiliation of these clans, which, incidentally, is not otherwise vouched for. On another occasion I was told that the Flute men, one Flute boy<sup>2</sup> and two Flute girls would take part. Silas and his uncle, Kachina clan, also belong to the fraternity. At the last day's rite Múmi, Snake clan, and Wö'nötö, Reed clan, acted as guards, armed with bow and arrow and whirled bull-roarers. In their absence Corn-Cloud men would have acted as substitutes.

<sup>1</sup>Another statement indicates that it was not his own father, but merely a man addressed by that term, which might be applied to one's sponsor in initiation.

<sup>2</sup>As a matter of fact, two small boys participated in the rite at the spring on August twenty-second.

Towards the end of the Flute ceremony a woman put something into Qútqa's bower, presumably some food. This woman was of the Reed clan, to which this privilege properly belongs. Qútqa had several offices in virtue of his being the sole living Bear man. Since it was impossible for him to fill all of them, he appointed delegates. Thus, a man sitting on a rock dominating the spring at which the Flute fraternity assembled on the last day was of the Badger clan. Formerly Qútqa had appointed a Kachina man for this office, but since this individual was afflicted with sore eyes Qútqa chose a new substitute. Snake people, such as "Harry Cupela" (Qöya'waima), participate in the Flute ceremony because the Flute and Snake people came from the same region, viz., the northeast.

Comparison with Fewkes's partial list does not reveal any fundamental differences in point of clan affiliation. Tõ'no'ə (Flute), Múmi and Hñoñi (Snake), Háni (Tobacco), Wõ'nötö (Reed) were members in 1900, Cúpela (Cloud-Corn) has been succeeded by a clansman. The only discrepancy lies in the mention of two Mustard members by Fewkes, that clan being unrepresented in my list. The absence of the Bear clan in Fewkes's record cannot be taken as significant because it is avowedly incomplete.

On the *wõ'wõtciwetö* Voth makes the following statement:—

Every Hopi man or boy is at one time or other initiated into one of the following four fraternities: Agave (*Kwan*); Horn (*Ahl*); Singers (*Tataokani*); or Wowochimtu (meaning obscure); by this membership he becomes a member of the *Soyal* fraternity. He can belong to any two of the above named four fraternities, but his initiation into one of them is an absolute condition for his membership in the *Soyal* Society. To other societies, such as the Snake, Flute, Morau, etc., even to more than one he may belong, whether he is a member of one of those four fraternities or not.<sup>1</sup>

However this may be, the *wõ'wõtciwetö* of Mishongnovi have two chiefs of equal rank,—*Mõ'ñya'õ'* (Coyote) and *Öiwisa* (Squash). These two have been leaders as far as Luke can recollect and the rule of succession is that the leaders appoint their successors from among members of their own clan. The remaining members in 1916 were given by Luke as follows: Hömívεma and Sikyaíamtiwa, Eagle; Sák'möniwa, Bear; Hömñainiwa, Talásyöusiya', Sí(y) estiwà, Chicken-hawk; Sak'olɛtstiwà, Qöwánohɛtiwà, Butterfly; Taláswöhiomà, Töveyousiya, Squash; Kyéllhuñawa, Sikyáhuyiomà, Luke, Badger; Masámöniwa, Qötsqwaf-tiwa, Corn; Hömísüma, Parrot; Qötsövöyau.umà, Cedarwood; Sî'wöni, Cloud (?); Masafisiwa, Butterfly (?); Homíɛtstiwà, ?.

<sup>1</sup>Dorsey, George A. and Voth, H. R., "The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony," (*Anthropological Series, Field Columbian Museum*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1901), 9.



On the First Mesa Háni is chief of this organization. He is commonly spoken of as the oldest Rabbit man, but was explained to be really the sole survivor of the linked Tobacco clan. Twenty years ago he does not seem to have been even an ordinary member from Doctor Fewkes's census, though the Tobacco and the Rabbit clan were represented by one and two men respectively.<sup>1</sup>

The Lalaqóntə society of the First Mesa is associated with the Corn-Cloud clan, all of whose women are members. Though this is primarily a women's association, men participate in some measure, joining in the songs and sleeping outside the Horn kiva to guard the female members who sleep in it during the period of the ceremony. The following male members were mentioned by name: Sítaima, Húnu-wistiwa, Tcö'əwe, Sákwestiwa (Cloud-Corn); Sánna, Növáoí', (Snake); Qwáco (Cloud-Corn); Talápöjö, Ní'tiuma (Flute); Máwa (Cloud-Corn); Mönna (Mustard); Ná'i (Reed); Sámmi (Coyote), Létayo (Rabbit). The following are the female members: Vénci, Yúña, Nömá'pi, Sikyá-aimici, Nasíñainmö'a, Qö'ya, Lénamàna, Qötshainöma, Púlli, Lúsi, Puñyáyamqa, Nö'misi, Teí'ə and her daughter Maggie, Máqiwa (Cloud-Corn); Hömísi, Talan'weñqa, Tö'wa<sup>2</sup> (Horn); Masánömqa and her daughter Selma, Sikyáyansi, Sikyáletsi, Qáhaiya, Húñqa, Hömíta, Qöyáhuñunöma (Flute); Nöwáñainöma (Charcoal); Lénainö'ma, Töwéwa.isi, Jane; Lénaisi, Cikyáa'tsiə, Macíwoli (Coyote); Qöwánö-mönöma, Qéle, Söwíhuñunö'ma, Ná'pi, Qö'iyavi, Talásqwavi (Lizard); Ciúwö'te<sup>3</sup>, Lewis's wife, (Kachina); Púlli.ici, Töwáñainöma, Talláwa (Mustard); Töwéwamqa, Töwē', Sühömnöma (Rabbit); Söwíqwavi, Söwíhuñunöma<sup>4</sup> (Butterfly). To this enumeration was added the statement that all the Tewa (Hano) women participated. Vénci and Hömísi are the leaders of the society.

It is interesting to note that while in my census Horn and Flute people were merged, they were enumerated separately in this list of Lalaqóntə members.

Respecting other ceremonial functions connected with clan membership I learned that the chief of the Bean ceremony (*powámu*, *powamaya*) is Sít'qöva, Kachina clan, the office belonging to his clan. Luke, Badger clan, has the office of giving smoke to the Farewell (*nimán*) Kachina dancers. Since he has inherited it from a maternal uncle, the presumption is that the privilege is associated with their clan. On the First Mesa

<sup>1</sup>Fewkes, *Tusayan Migration Traditions*, 628.

<sup>2</sup>His name was given as "Flute and Horn."

<sup>3</sup>A Zuni woman.

<sup>4</sup>Given as "Butterfly and Weasel."

the *powámaya* was also said to be in the charge of a Kachina man as priest, the incumbent in 1916 being Lomaśamtìwa. The privilege of whipping children at initiation properly belongs to the Rabbit and the Badger clan, but the incumbents may delegate their authority. In 1916 Qötcámöca (Rabbit) and Muñi (Badger) were Walpi whippers. At Walpi, Cupela was chief of the Soyal ceremony and was succeeded by his own brother, Mák'iwa. The position of the sun, on which the time of ceremonies depends, is determined by Sítaina of the Corn-Cloud clan.

At Walpi, Qútqa and his uncle (?) are in charge of the Horn kiva; Sakwístiwa of the *qwáqwantα*, Hǎni of the *múñkiva*, Mömöi of the *wötcimə*. These four are chiefs of the Harvest ceremony and decide when it should be held. Only Hǎni and Mömöi know how to cure and they differ from professional doctors in treating people only on this ceremonial occasion.

## APPENDIX

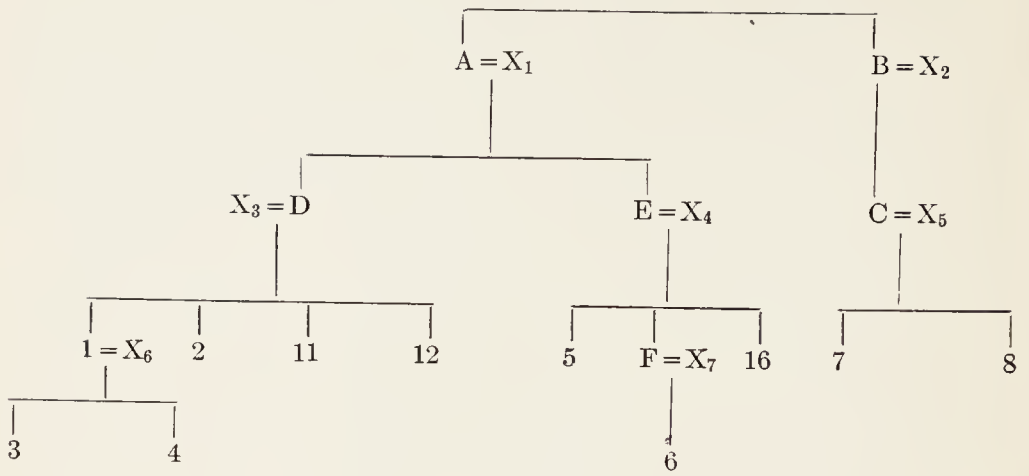
The following genealogies from Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi bring out the actual blood relationships so far as I was able to determine them. Where the results conflict with statements in the clan census, the genealogies are more authentic, for reasons already indicated (p. 307). In the interests of clarity I have eliminated as many individuals as possible who are not clan members, e.g., all husbands when the unions are without issue. Members of the clan or lineage in question who were dead in 1916 or for some other reason were not listed in the census are designated by the initial letters of the alphabet; non-members appear as X with subscript.



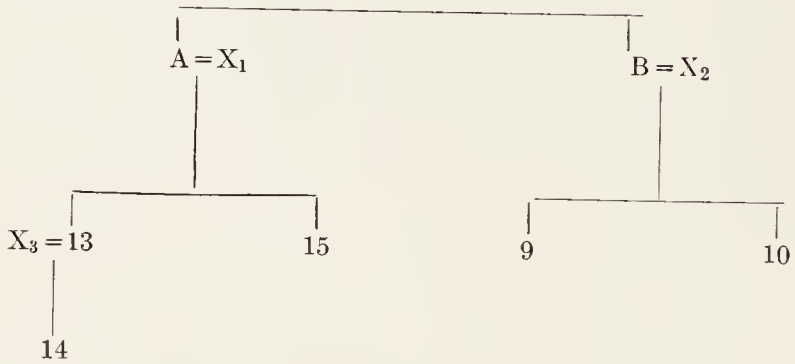
# MISHONGNOVI

## PARROT CLAN

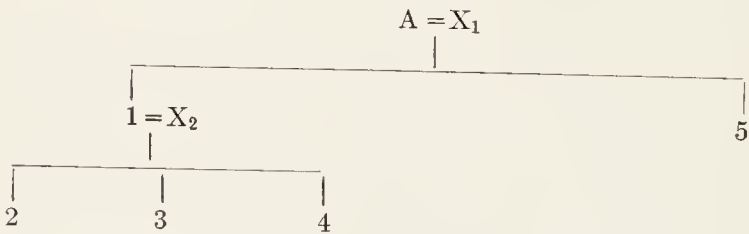
### Lineage 1



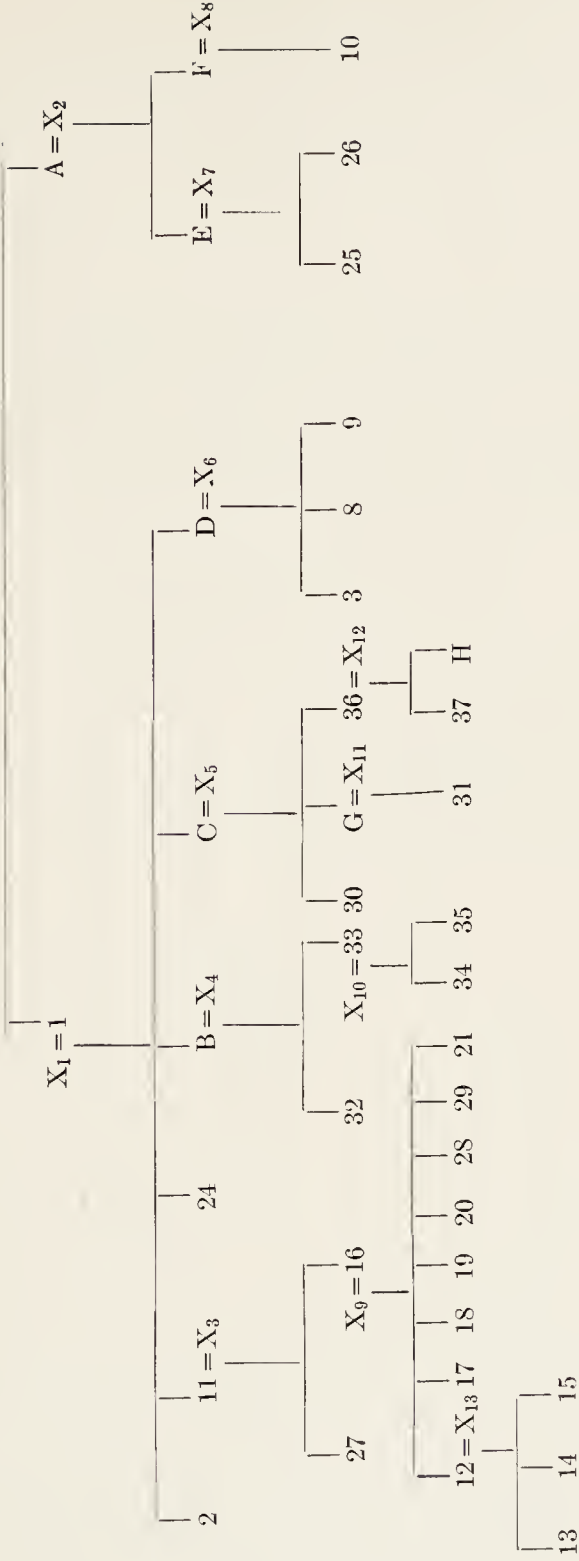
### Lineage 2



## KACHINA CLAN

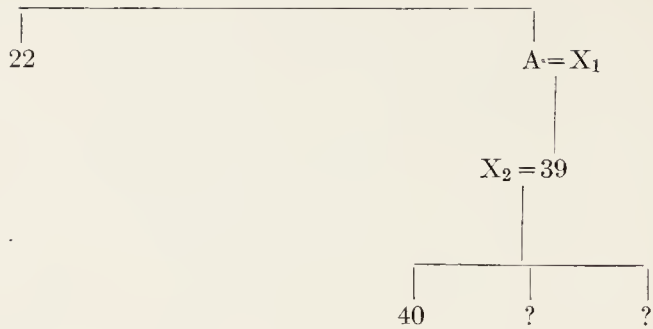


BEAR CLAN  
Lineage 1



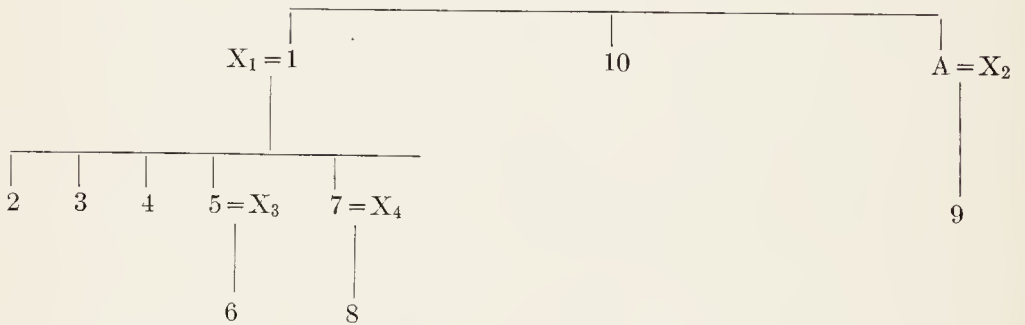
BEAR CLAN

Lineage 2



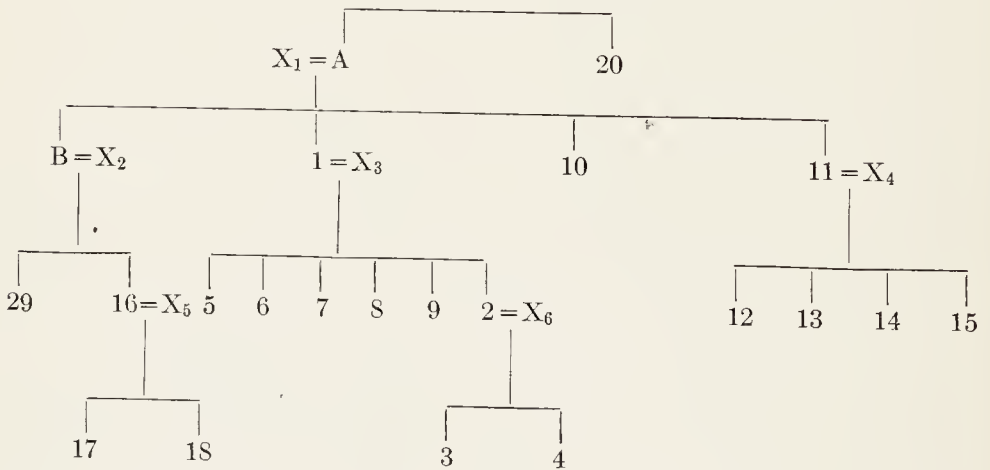
According to the census there should be two children of 40. Possibly there has been some confusion of these with the unnumbered children of 39 in the above genealogy.

CARRYING-STRAP CLAN



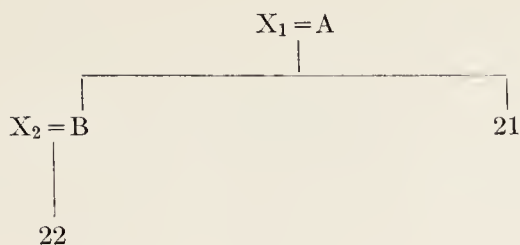
TCŌ'CU CLAN

Lineage 1



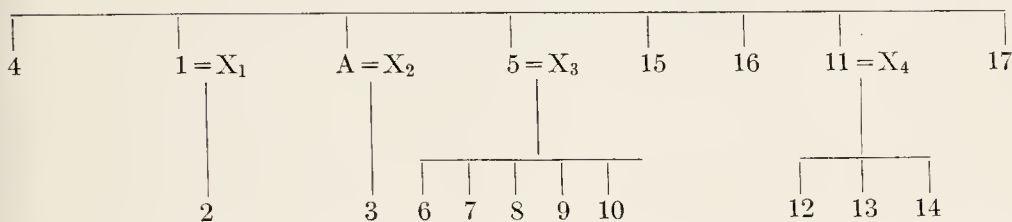
TCÖ'CU CLAN

Lineage 2



The genealogy was given separately from that for Lineage 1, but the distinctness of the two lines is not certain. The clan list gives 21 as a brother of 20 and makes 22 a nephew of 20. A's name was given as Kyácowönisi, B's as Tö'wa.

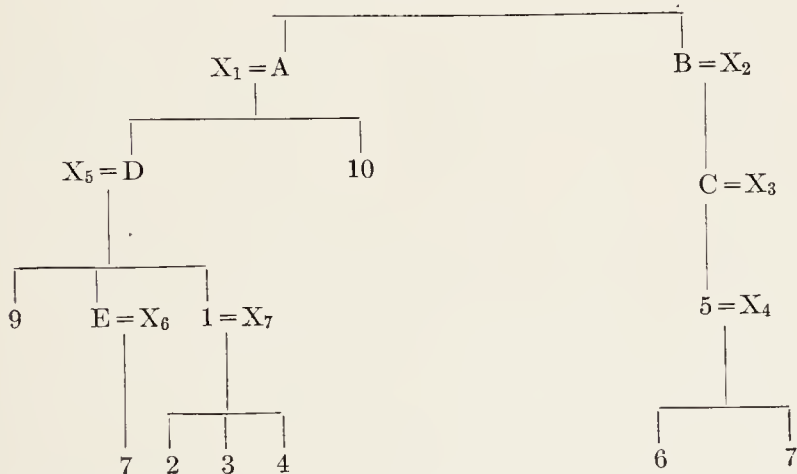
CEDARWOOD-FIRE CLAN



According to Luke and his wife, only 1 and her kin belong to the clan proper. The others in the clan list are Coyote people, 22 being the only Coyote survivor of Mishongnovi, the rest Coyote immigrants from Oraibi.

BADGER CLAN

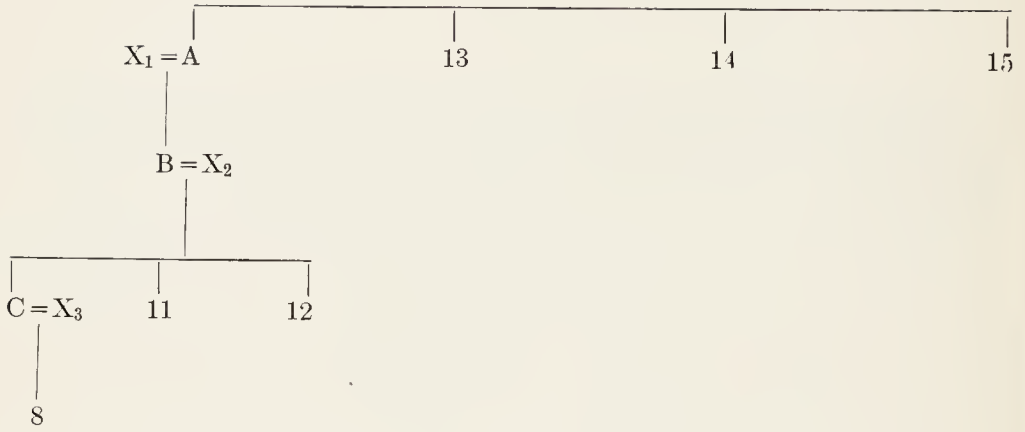
Lineage 1



7 was originally given as daughter of 5, later as daughter of sister of 9. The latter seems more likely correct.

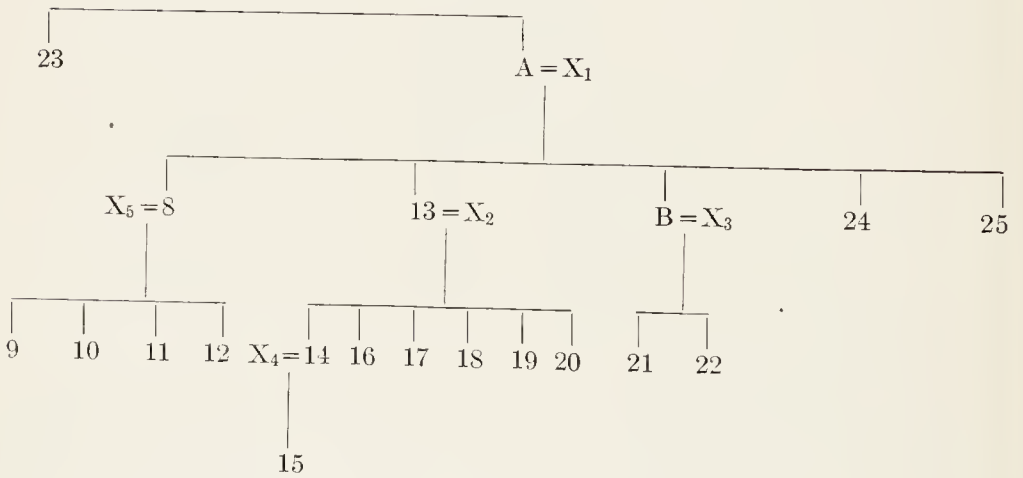
BADGER CLAN

Lineage 2



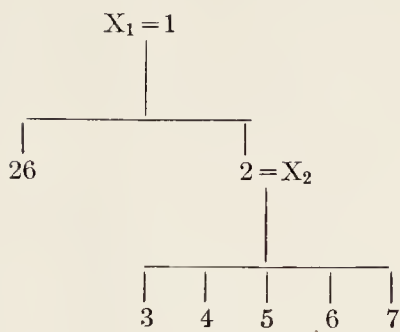
BUTTERFLY CLAN

Lineage 1

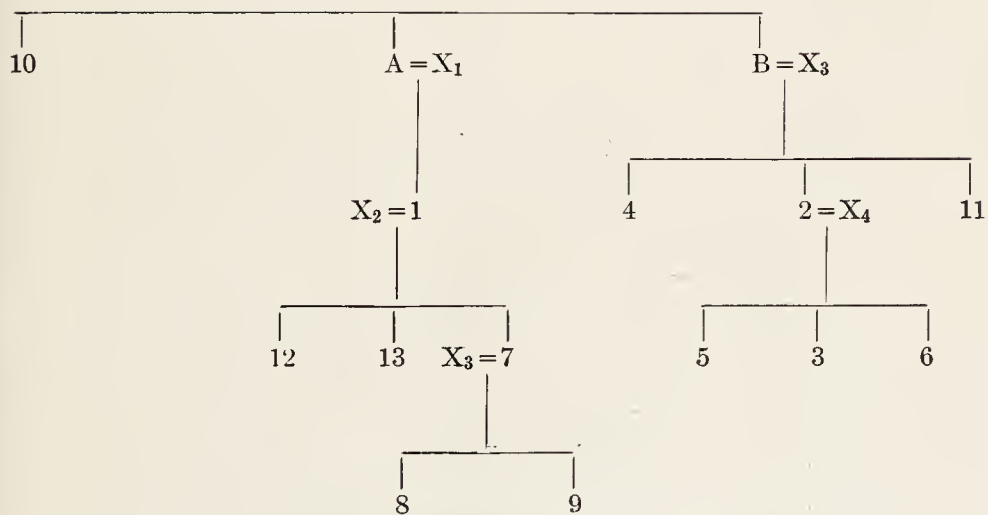


BUTTERFLY CLAN

Lineage 2

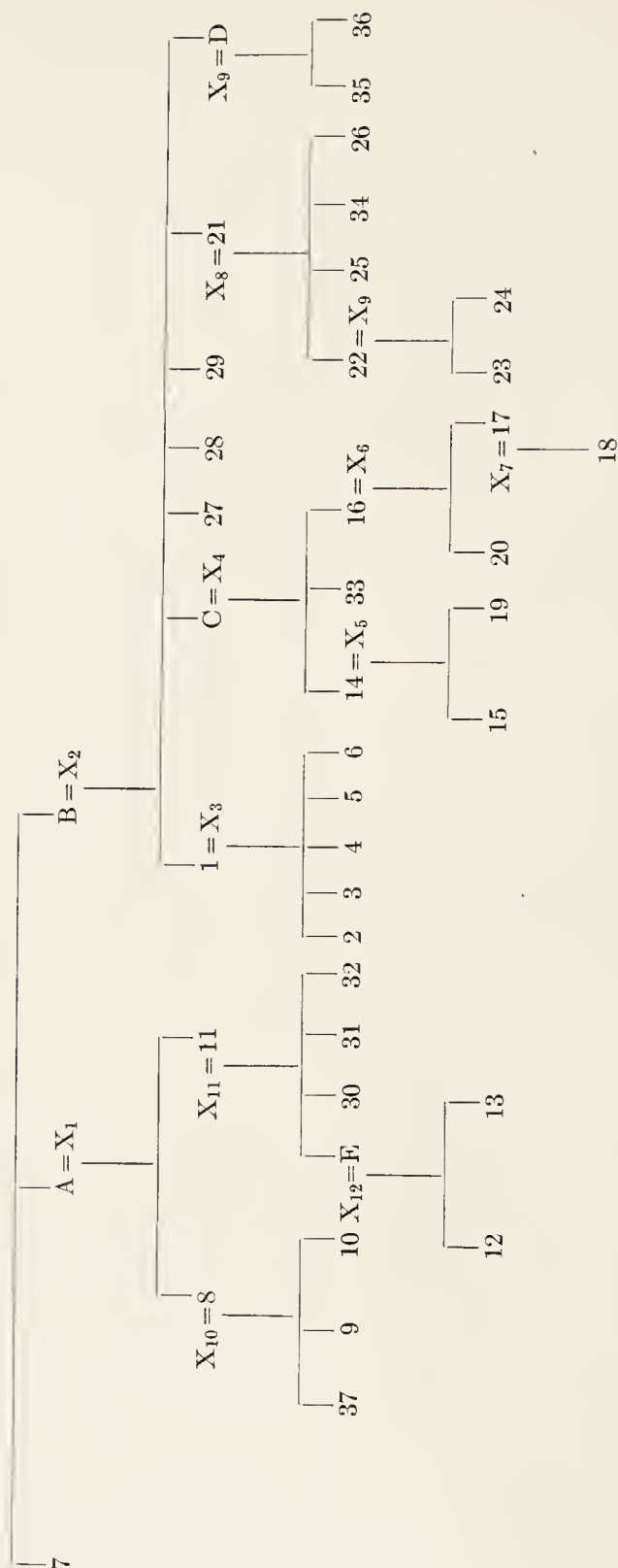


SQUASH CLAN

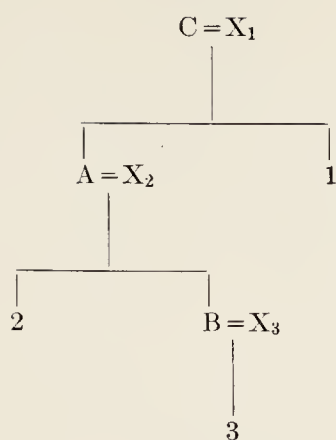




# HAWK CLAN

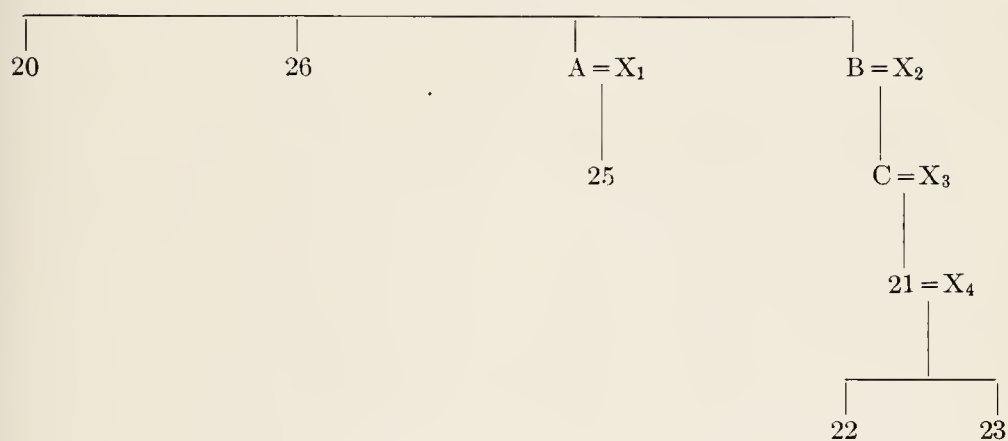


# EAGLE CLAN



# CORN CLAN

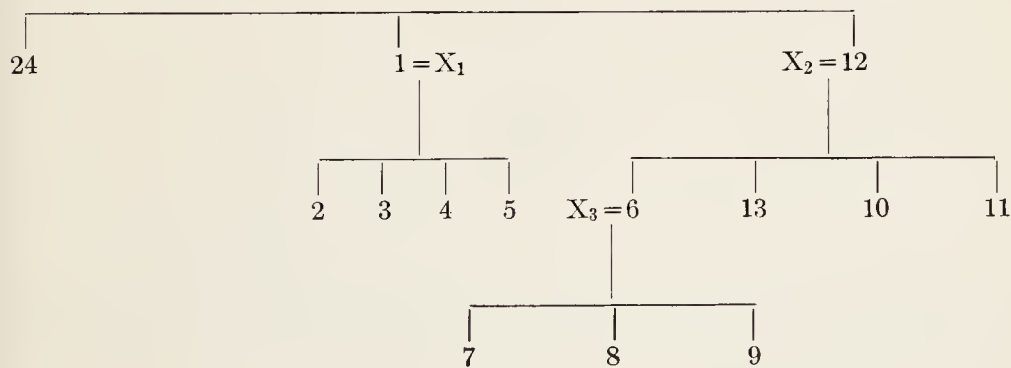
## Lineage 1



The clan list affiliates this lineage with others, 21 being reckoned a sister of 14.

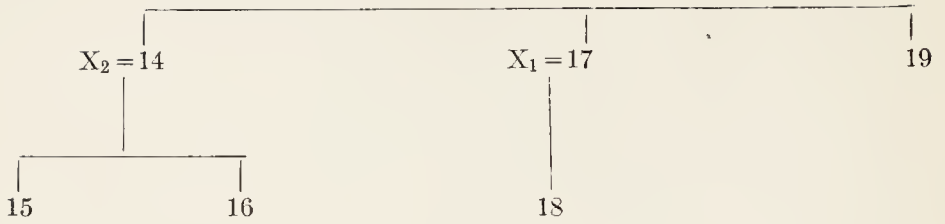
# CORN CLAN

## Lineage 2

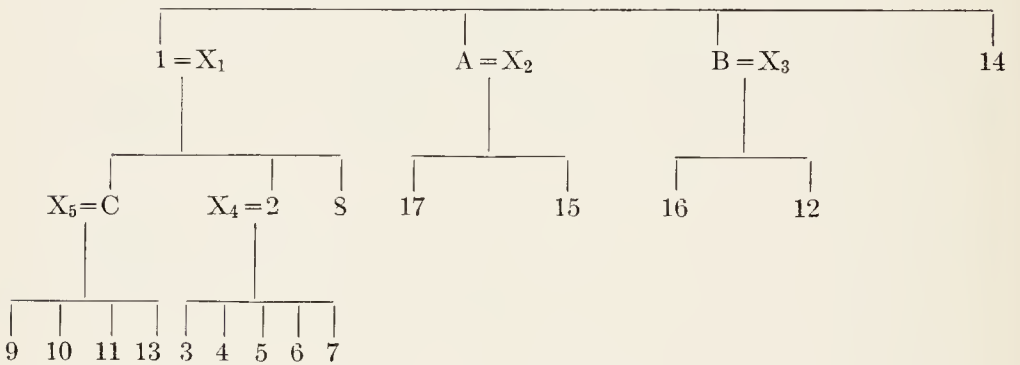


CORN CLAN

Lineage 3

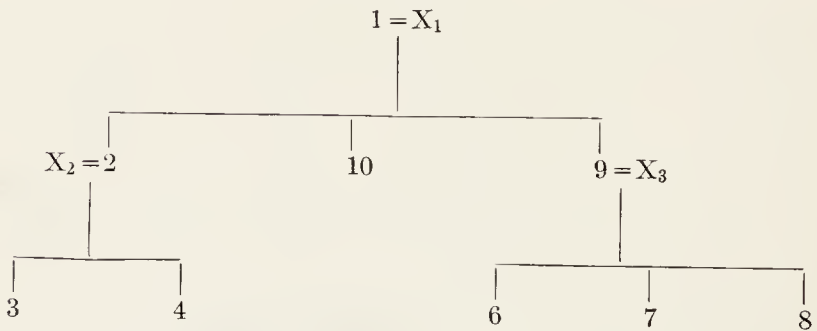


CLOUD CLAN



LIZARD CLAN

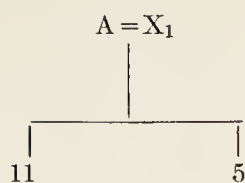
Lineage 1



The clan list assigns 5 to this lineage, making him a son of 1. Luke thinks there is no family bond.

LIZARD CLAN

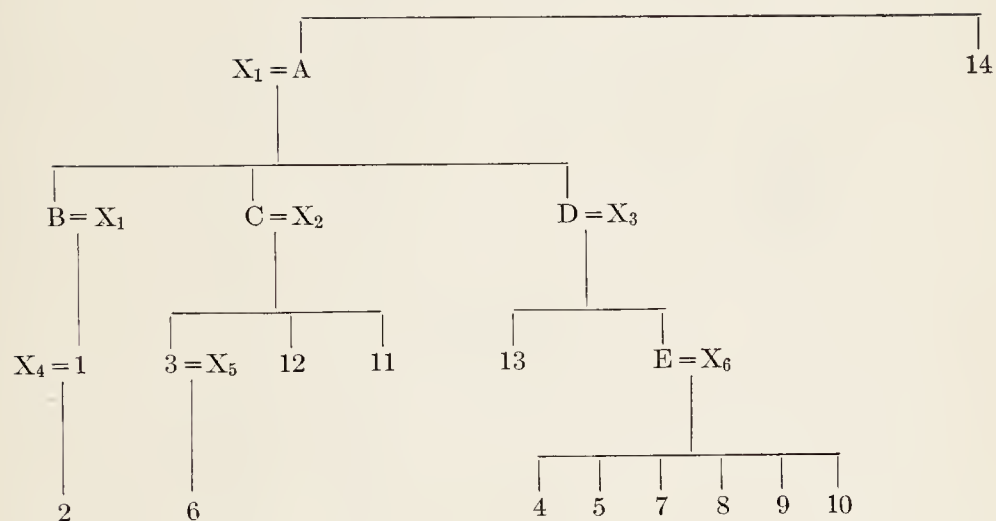
Lineage 2



SHIPAULOVI

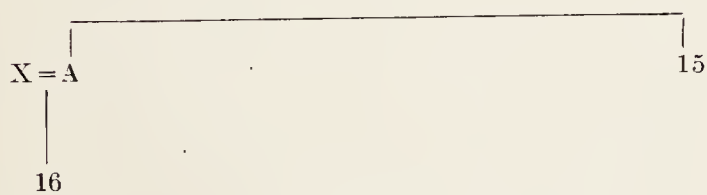
BEAR CLAN

Lineage 1

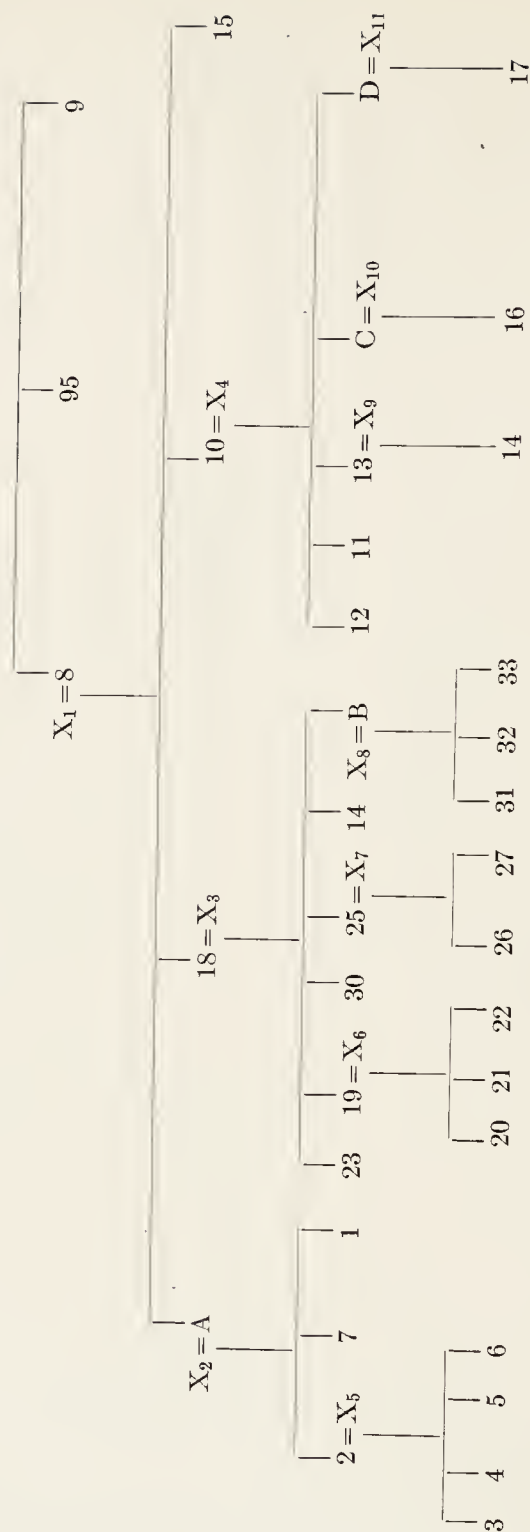


BEAR CLAN

Lineage 2

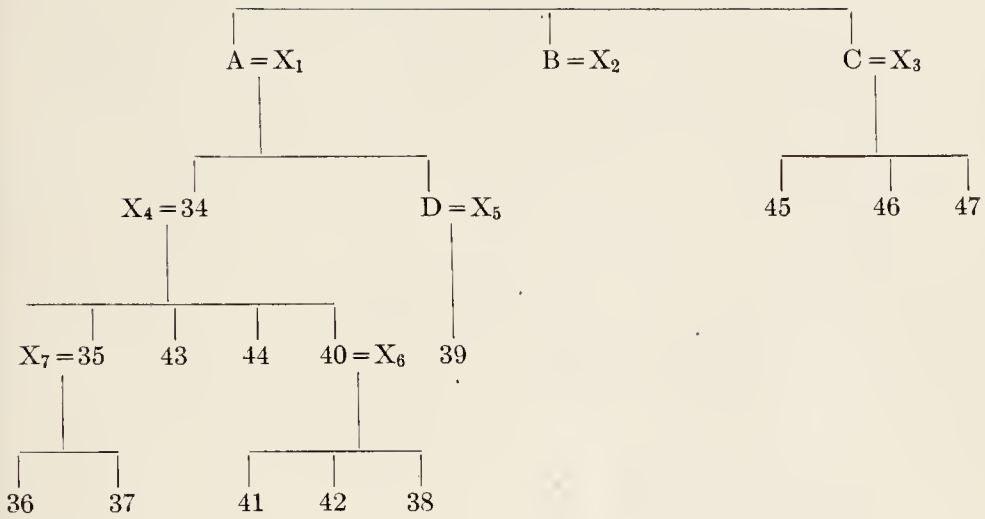


QÁLÓ CLAN  
Lineage 1



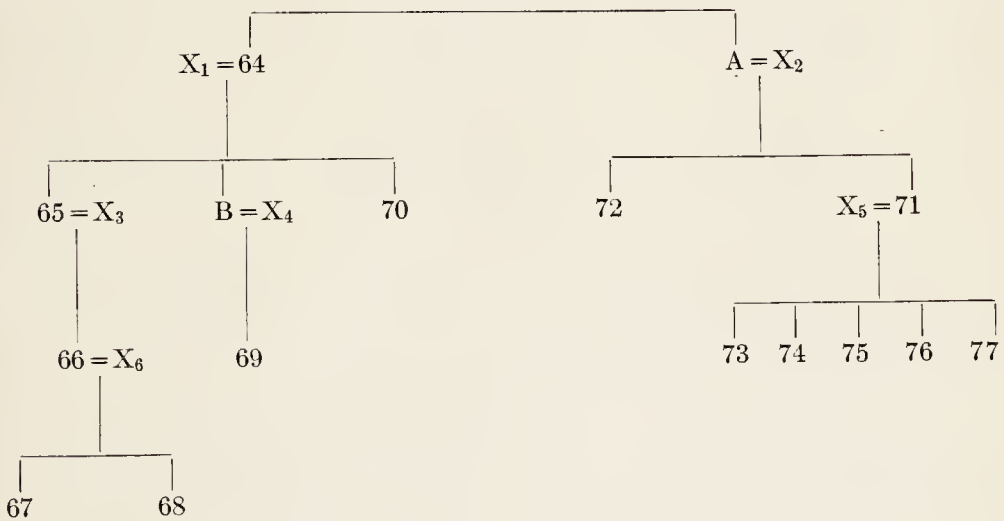
QÁLÖ CLAN

Lineage 2



QÁLÖ CLAN

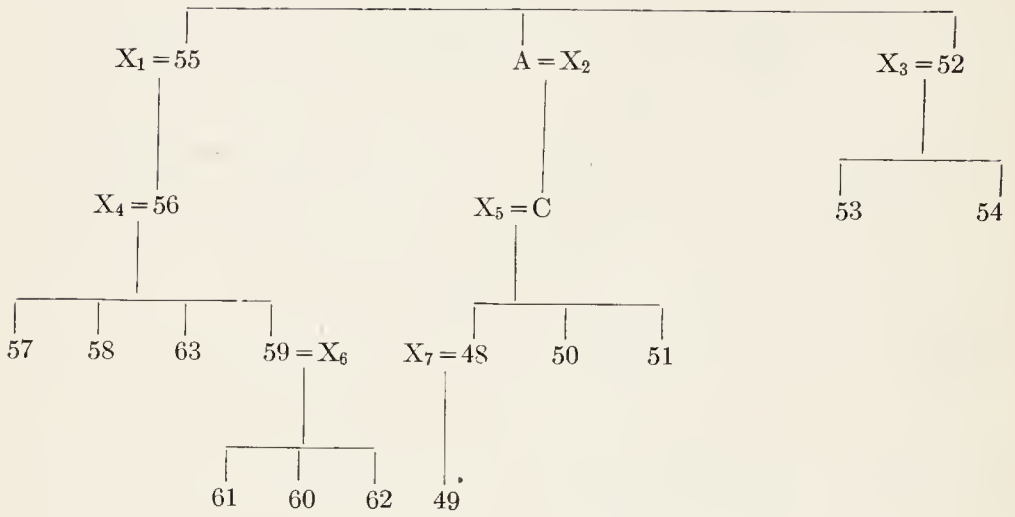
Lineage 3





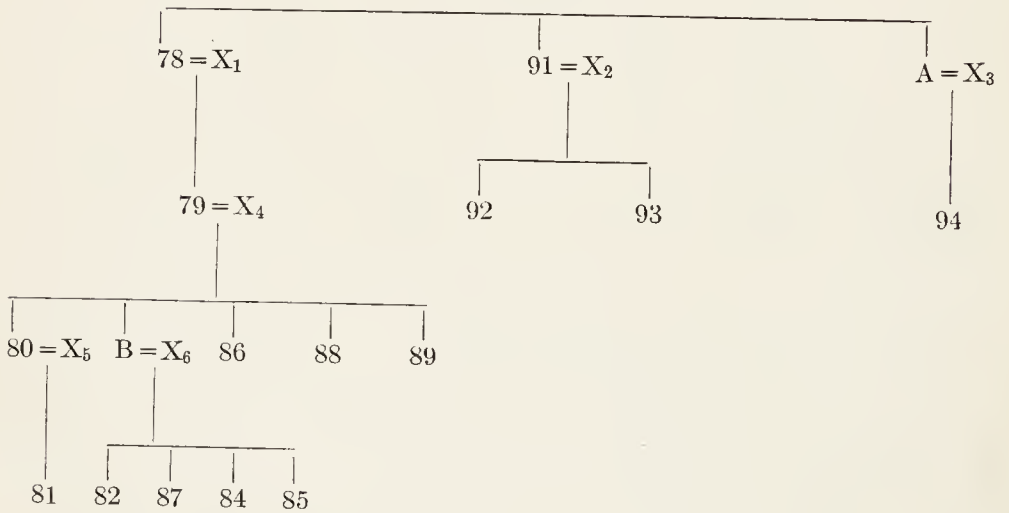
QÁLÖ CLAN

Lineage 4



QÁLÖ CLAN

Lineage 5









# Date Due

<del>APR 1975</del>	MAY 5 2006	
<del>APR 19 1975</del>	MAR 25 2006	
<del>DEC 1 1975</del>		
<del>APR 4 1978</del>		
<del>APR 14 1983</del>		
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<del>DEC 03 1992</del>		
<del>DEC 03 1992</del>		
<del>FEB 19 1996</del>		
<del>FEB 14 1996</del>		
<del>FEB 14 2003</del>	BATA	

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